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ALTHOUGH THE SWING to the left in the French parliamentary elections is distinctly gratifying, we must still await the outcome of the political bargaining preliminary to the erection of a new government before we know just what significance to attach to the election results. There is little question that Edouard Herriot, leader of the Radical Socialist Party, now the largest in the Chamber of Deputies, will be the new Premier. But Herriot has not yet decided whether to form an alliance with the center parties led by André Tardieu, which would give him a stable majority, or to throw in his lot with the Socialist Party, which would give him an uncomfortably slender majority. The Radical Socialist Party is radical and socialist in name only. Herriot himself has lately defended the nationalist policies of Premiers Tardieu and Laval even more heatedly upon occasion than the latter have believed necessary. Moreover, in the campaign Herriot was bitter in his denunciation of the Socialists. It would appear, therefore, that his more obvious choice would be to join forces with Tardieu, and thus insure continuance of the present policies of France, which have done so much to disturb Europe in the last twelve months. But in throwing the Chamber majority to the left the French voters have made it plain that they want to see the reparations and disarmament policies modified. And Herriot, shrewd politician that he is, may wisely decide to respond to popular opinion in this case.

HERBERT HOOVER may find more than passing comfort in the results of the Democratic primaries in California. This is not because Speaker Garner was victorious, for it is highly unlikely that the Democrats will choose a dry Southerner as their Presidential candidate, but because Franklin D. Roosevelt was so badly defeated. Governor Roosevelt still has far and away the best chance of winning the nomination. But in the California primary he showed again, as he had shown earlier in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, that he is not a great drawing card or vote-getter. If he is nominated, he will not arouse the country as his supporters expected him to do. Roosevelt's campaign began with a great flourish; in the early primaries his candidacy brought out more Democratic voters than many States had ever seen before. But since then something has happened. The enthusiasm for the New York Governor has noticeably decreased. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the country as a whole is turning away from the Democrats as a result of their performance in Washington, or more probably it can be attributed to Roosevelt's own weakness, to his refusal to speak out unequivocally on the questions of the day.

PRESIDENT HOOVER on May 5 unexpectedly sent a special message to Congress once again calling the attention of that body to what he considers the extreme necessity of balancing the federal budget. In the words of the New York *Times*, he "placed squarely on the shoulders of Congress the blame for the failure of the tax and economy programs." The message declared that "the imperative need of the nation today is a definite and conclusive program for balancing the budget. Uncertainty is disastrous. It must be in every sense a national program. Sectional, partisan, group, or class considerations can have no place in it." These are beautiful and entirely proper sentiments. In the abstract we can and do indorse them. But the President's message must be examined in the light of known political factors. For example, there is the approaching election. If the prospective Republican nominee can make it appear that the Democratic majority in the House is unable to devise a workable tax and economy program, if the prospective Republican nominee can convince the voters that the tactics of this same Democratic majority are contributing directly to the prevailing confusion in Washington and the continued decline in business, will that not improve the chances of a Republican victory at the polls in November? Mr. Hoover's language tends to put the Democrats in bad odor, and it has unquestionably given millions of voters who read the message the impression that only the President and the Republicans have the interests of the country at heart.

REPUBLICANS AS WELL as Democrats had a hand in wrecking the economy bill. Republicans as well as Democrats supported the increase in the Veterans' Bureau expenditures. Republicans as well as Democrats voted for the Goldsborough bill. And what could have contributed more to the current uncertainty than the attitude of the Secretary of the Treasury, Ogden Mills, who has publicly changed his

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position with regard to taxation several times in recent months, and whose estimates as to potential revenues have been demonstrably erroneous? And what could be more disturbing to public confidence than the stupid assertion of David Reed, Republican Senator from Pennsylvania, that what this country needs is a Mussolini? Lastly, even the President's premises are not wholly accurate. He calls for a reduction in expenditures totaling $700,000,000 per annum, thus giving the impression that Congress is refusing to make such a drastic cut in expenses. But upon investigation the Washington correspondent of the New York *World-Telegram* found that reductions contemplated or already approved by Congress total $833,000,000. So the very result Mr. Hoover is seeking, Congress is already close to achieving.

THAT THE UNITED STATES will not join with other Powers or with the League of Nations in coercive action to "enforce peace" has now been made clear beyond dispute by the Undersecretary of State, William R. Castle, Jr. Every foreign office in Europe has known this for years, but because Washington had never spoken out plainly on the subject European governments and League apologists thought they might, by their ceaseless propaganda, still win this country over to the "peace by compulsion" theory. Now that the State Department has made its position plain, this propaganda should cease. We wholly agree with Mr. Castle, as we have repeatedly stated in recent issues of *The Nation*, that peace is not to be secured by resort to economic sanctions, boycotts, embargoes, or blockades. Those devices are measures of war, and the use of them, as Mr. Castle declared, "would almost surely lead to war." On the other hand, we cannot wholly accept the State Department's new doctrine of refusing to recognize treaties or other political arrangements arrived at in violation of the Kellogg Pact and similar peace agreements. The new doctrine is beyond doubt a vast improvement over the League's system of sanctions. In it there is no room for the employment of coercive action to prevent war; nations contemplating war are to be dissuaded by the foreknowledge that the legality of the spoils they hope to garner will not be recognized by other governments. While we believe this is the best to be had in an intensely nationalistic, imperialistic world, we do not consider the new doctrine to be perfect.

IN OPPOSING economic sanctions, Mr. Castle emphasized the difficulty that would be encountered in determining the aggressor in any given war. But would not the same difficulty exist with respect to the Hoover-Stimson doctrine? Would it not be just as hard under this doctrine for the governments of the world to determine which of two nations engaged in hostilities was the violator of the Kellogg Pact, that is, the aggressor, and which the defending country? And suppose the defending country wins the war and insists by way of reparations upon a slice of territory or upon certain political or economic rights within the defeated country? The victor in that case would certainly not come within the purview of the new doctrine. Yet to all practical purposes its war of defense will have ended exactly as though it had been prosecuting a war of aggression. The defect in the new doctrine is the same as that to be found in the Kellogg treaty. The Pact of Paris does not outlaw all war but only wars of aggression. But we know how easy it is for the latter type of war to be disguised as a war of defense. Until a formula can be devised outlawing all war, this grave problem will defy permanent solution. However, the Hoover-Stimson doctrine marks a distinct advance over the "peace by compulsion" school. It recognizes that the world is not yet perfect and that there may be war again in the future, but it at least does not add still another possible cause of war to the many that exist, and that is precisely what the advocates of economic sanctions and of boycotts would do.

JUSTICE CARDOZO, in his new position on the United States Supreme Court, has just written two important decisions which strengthen the liberal stand the court has lately seemed to take. By a vote of five to four the court has declared unconstitutional the Texas law which gave State executive committees the right to decide who might be permitted to vote—which was in effect a law disfranchising Negroes. Thus the long fight which began with grandfather clauses as soon as the Fourteenth Amendment had been passed, and proceeded through various circumlocutions and "property" qualifications to the Texas primary law, has had another and, one may hope, a permanent check. The Supreme Court also took action on the so-called Packers Consent Decree, and upheld the decree of 1920 enjoining the five leading meat-packers from dealing in the sale of food products unrelated to the meat-packing industry. In 1930 Swift and Company and Armour and Company appealed for modification of the decree. In refusing the petition Justice Cardozo aptly says:

> The case comes down to this: The defendants had abused their powers so grossly and persistently as to lead to the belief that even when they were acting separately their conduct had been subjected to extraordinary restraints. There was the fear that even when so acting they would still be ready and able to crush their feebler rivals in the sale of groceries and kindred products by forms of competition too ruthless and oppressive to be accepted as fair and just.

THE GOLDSBOROUGH BILL, passed by the House by the overwhelming vote of 289 to 60, is either a needless or a dangerous measure. Its simple statement—"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States that the average purchasing power of the dollar . . . for the period covering the years 1921 to 1929 inclusive shall be restored and maintained"—may be taken to be nothing more than a statement to prove that Congress prefers high prices to low prices, prosperity to depression, even though it may not expect this declaration to have any effect on actual policy. But the bill does not stop there. It goes on to direct that this former price level is to be restored and maintained by a specific method, to wit, "the control of the volume of credit and currency." The first difficulty here is that the Federal Reserve Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Reserve banks, "hereby charged with the duty of making effective this policy," cannot control the volume of credit and currency except in a very indirect and unreliable way. The second is that even if they could control the volume of credit, the average level of prices would not necessarily rise or fall in proportion. The causation happens to be almost precisely the opposite from that which the Goldsborough bill supposes. In the ordinary course of bus-

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iness on the gold standard, changes in the volume of credit and currency follow, and do not precede, changes in the price level. The price level can be changed radically through currency manipulation only by the chaos of irredeemable paper money or by changes in the gold content of the dollar. As long as America remains on the gold standard at the present dollar parity, changes in the volume of our credit and currency can have only a negligible effect on the international gold price level.

THE HOOVER ADMINISTRATION'S campaign to rid the country of radical labor organizers by deporting them can be extremely cruel as well as unjust. In the case of Edith Berkman the immigration authorities are showing themselves just this. Miss Berkman was arrested for taking part in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike in 1930, released on exorbitant bail, and rearrested the following year in the course of another strike in Lawrence. The second time she was not admitted to bail, but was ordered held for deportation to Poland. She has now been in custody more than seven months and lies at the moment in the Massachusetts Memorial Hospital in Boston, suffering from tuberculosis which she contracted during her first incarceration. The immigration authorities know that under the terms of the Polish-Russian peace treaty of 1921 they cannot deport Miss Berkman. Nevertheless, repeated petitions for her release addressed to Secretary of Labor Doak and other officials have failed to move them. Without legal or moral justification, and without having brought her to trial on any charge, they are keeping Miss Berkman in custody under heavy guard. In consequence of this unlawful action on the part of Secretary Doak's agents, her life is hanging in the balance. Meanwhile another drive against labor organizers is being conducted privately in Kentucky. Kentucky's right to persecute and prosecute radical workers has been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union, which is sending a delegation of representative Southern and Eastern citizens into the State to investigate labor conditions in the coal fields, as well as by a delegation of ministers just returned. The reception the Civil Liberties delegation may expect from the press of Kentucky, traditional defenders of free speech, is indicated by the letters from several Kentucky editors which *The Nation* publishes in the correspondence section of this issue.

THE FREE CITY OF BALTIMORE demonstrates once more its right to the name. This is not entirely because, with a rousing majority, it voted on May 2 to abolish the laws against Sunday closing of pleasure activities, but also because it took the trouble to vote on the question at all. Departing from the time-honored American custom of nullifying laws which have become unpopular, Baltimore more forthrightly took the laws out of their musty pigeonholes and voted on them in the light of day. A majority of some 85,000 votes abolished the statutes forbidding Sunday sports, theatrical performances, including motion pictures, bowling, and the sale of certain commodities. It is true that this liberalizing action was the first of its kind in 200 years, but if somewhat belated, it was none the less admirable. If every community could similarly overhaul its outmoded statutes, we should have a much fresher and more realistic approach to law.

Paul Doumer

IT is reported that the President of France rallied sufficiently after his assassination to inquire what had happened to him. He was told that he had been injured in an automobile accident. Unable to recover any recollection of the facts, he wished to be assured that the injury was unintended. "Surely France does not wish me any ill." Surely no one could wish any ill to this fond old man, weighed down by his years and the burden of his sacrifices.

France has long been famous for choosing her public men from the peasantry and for trying to extend peasant wisdom throughout the whole area of post-war Europe. Professor Sieberg has remarked that the French investor, whenever he can be persuaded to take his money out of his stocking, would rather invest it in the government bonds of some fly-by-night South American republic than in any stock company that has as its aim the development of productive industries. And the truth is that "sound" finance in Paris has continued, even more than in other capitals, to mean the extension to international affairs of the economic ideas of the small-town mortgage-holder.

So it may be worth while, as President Doumer passes from the scene, to dwell for a moment on the viewpoint that he set forth in 1906 in his "Livre de mes fils," published for the benefit of his sons and of other men's sons in 1906, and republished in 1923 when all but one of his sons had perished as combatants in the World War. It is Shakespeare's Polonius speaking. Love your ancestors. Wrestle with your faults. Self-mastery leads to world-mastery. Read the classics in your spare moments, but chiefly apply your mind to advancement in your profession. Brave men and chaste women are what nations chiefly need. God blesses large families. Patriotic duty comes first.

Interesting, in view of Doumer's period of governorship in French Indo-China, is his discourse about the hierarchy of races: "Since the discovery of fire, man has gradually scaled the heights of civilization. The savage tribes of Africa and the mountain people of Asia have remained at the bottom of the slope, like the Indians who dwelt in America at the time that Columbus discovered it or the primitive folk that once dwelt in Greece and in Italy." The great nations conquer and rule these backward races. Charles Martel, when he turned back the Hun, gave to France her mission as the champion of civilization, and the fact that railways and telegraphs and the credit system have altered the face of the globe since Charles Martel, and since Seneca and Augustus and Pericles, who were special favorites of Doumer, only goes to show that Oriental invasions have been vastly facilitated and that France must be vigilant and maintain the birth-rate.

There is something sustaining about a well-defined conception of public duty. "At times in the Far East," Doumer wrote, "Death's wing brushed my cheek, but I did not flinch. I was doing my allotted task. Around me the same calm prevailed in other men's breasts in so far as those breasts were untarnished by baser motives." One may doubt the worth of a civilization that requires to be nourished on human blood. But Doumer has perished in ignorance of all doubts.

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Recognize Russia

THAT Congressman Rainey of Illinois, a Democratic leader of the House of Representatives, has joined Senators Borah, Johnson of California, and Robinson of Arkansas in urging the immediate recognition of Russia is highly significant of the changing opinion in our official life. "Our failure to recognize Russia," said Mr. Rainey, "is an economic crime." He pointed out that whereas in 1898 there were eighty-four American ships plying steadily between the United States and the Black Sea ports, what little cargo now goes to Russia is carried by tramp steamers. He declared that there was no forced labor whatever in Russia. "Russia," he added, "is the greatest market in the world, but we won't admit that it exists. We sit back and let our factories stop running and our people stay idle. That is foolish." Quite right, but it is by no means as foolish as some of the other situations that arise out of our attitude. The coming World's Fair in Chicago has invited the participation of the Russian Government, which is eager to take part but cannot do so because the government in Washington declares that the red Soviet flag may not be hoisted over any Russian building in Chicago or anywhere else! This is also the reason that there is to be no Russian building in New York's Radio City. Yet we pride ourselves upon our shrewdness and our common sense!

If the opposition to recognition of Russia were in accord with our historic traditions and our usual course of action, and were based on principle, that would be one thing. It is, however, largely due to the belief that if communism succeeds in Russia it will spread to America, and therefore we must not do anything that would in any wise contribute to that success. It is fear, craven fear, which controls, with the question of payment for the American plants seized by the Bolsheviks and the debt owed to the United States as side issues. Yet that fear was never more ridiculous than today, for if communism is spreading rapidly in the United States, as some people fear, that is due not to Russian propaganda but to the breakdown of our own economic machinery, and to the rising tide of indignation among 12,000,000 unemployed who through no fault of their own are facing destitution and are compelled to beg for charity. It is not the Kremlin which is endangering capitalist civilization in America, but the absence of any leadership at home, and the failure to recognize some of the fundamental causes for the chaos in which we live. Nothing is sillier than to think that we could bring about the downfall of the Russian Government by cutting off all intercourse with the Soviets and forbidding any American to enter that country, as some of our hundred-per-cent patriots would like to have us do. If Russia does not find the cooperation here which it desires, it will be able to buy what it needs elsewhere in the world. There is doubt that the Conservative Government in England will continue to do business with Russia, but Germany, France, Italy, and all the rest of the world are most eager to sell goods to the Soviets. Everybody who has dealt with Moscow declares that the Russian Government could not be more honorable in its dealings, or prompter in its payments. It has disbursed billions of dollars to foreign countries, but there is not yet a recorded case where a payment has not been made on the day set.

As for the property taken away from Americans, the Russians have repeatedly declared their willingness to discuss indemnities to such American concerns as the International Harvester Company. It has, moreover, repeatedly offered to take up the question of the Czarist and Kerensky debts, subject to certain reservations. The United States has already written off as a total loss a large percentage of the loans made to our Allies during the war. It might just as well write off these Russian loans, and perhaps if it does Russia will not present the large bills which it has a right to send us for the murder of Russian citizens by American troops in the Archangel region without a declaration of war, and for the similar unconstitutional and unwarranted appearance upon Russian soil of the American army of General W. S. Graves. These, we insist, are details which could be worked out in a few days should the government in Washington desire to remove all the obstacles to recognition.

The Administration cannot now remain unaffected by the fact that so conservative a Democrat as Senator Robinson of Arkansas declares that he advocates Russian recognition "as one feature in the policy of promoting amicable international relations and stimulating our foreign commerce." Senator Johnson's position is even more startling. His first point is that "there are billions of dollars' worth of future orders in Russia for American workers to fill and in these times it is simply economic idiocy, by our policies, to exclude Americans from trade and commerce which could so readily be obtained." Far more important is his second contention that the United States ought to recognize Russia as a move to head off another world war. Speaking of the tension existing on the Manchurian border between Russia and Japan because of the latter's aggression, he says that "a spark may set off the powder barrel at any time. Japan seems to think that Russia's downfall would be acclaimed the world over. Some gesture on the part of the United States, therefore, could well be made to rid her of any such idea." We surely have progressed some distance when a United States Senator from the Pacific Coast is willing to have it known that in the event of a conflict between Japan and Russia the moral weight of the United States will be on the side of the wicked Bolsheviks.

Now is the time, if there ever was a time, to recognize Soviet Russia. Every sane consideration demands it even without regard to the existing depression. How a government faced with such wholesale suffering as there is in America today can refuse to act is beyond us. To *The Nation* the subject is of such tremendous importance that we have gladly dedicated this issue to the subject. It *is* one of the greatest opportunities before America. The Secretary of State may persist in his refusal to move, or Mr. Hoover may. Either faces the possibility, if not the probability, that deaths by starvation of American citizens may yet directly be laid at his door, if he refuses to give to American industry the chance to enter into immediate contracts with Russia for billions of dollars' worth of supplies. O.G.V.

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Murder

A WOMAN and three men enticed another man to the woman's house under false representations, murdered him in a bloody and brutal manner, wrapped his body in a sheet, and while they were driving with the corpse to a cliff over which they planned to throw it into the sea, were apprehended by the police. These are the facts of the Massie case. That as a result of this killing the four defendants, convicted of second-degree murder in fair trial in open court, should have had their ten-year sentences commuted to one hour in the custody of the bailiff is to reduce our courts, our responsibilities to a subject people, and our sense of justice to the level of a particularly monstrous and shocking jest.

The Hawaiian, Joseph Kahahawai, was lynched. He was lynched not by a mob of moronic and passion-drunk irresponsibles out for a man hunt, but by a woman of refinement and breeding and by an officer in the United States Navy, who incidentally is guilty not only of murder but of the rankest lack of discipline in ordering to his assistance two enlisted men in the commission of a major crime. As a result of this lynching newspapers in this country have been black with headlines about "honor slayers," and members of Congress have fallen over one another in an effort to extend to the Hawaiian murderers every sort of clemency and favor. Congress is even agitating itself over the fact that the defendants, having been duly convicted of murder, are now to be duly deprived of their civil rights as convicted criminals. Governor Judd is being urged to grant a full pardon; if he will not do it, President Hoover is to be appealed to; and Secretary Adams has "let it be known" that the navy will not conduct disciplinary action against Lieutenant Massie.

Let us be quite clear on the subject. The assault on Mrs. Massie was a shockingly brutal act; the result of it on her husband and her mother, who saw her not only a patient in a hospital but a young woman—a very young woman—pitifully affected even when her wounds had healed, must have been almost unbearable. But assault, among civilized persons, does not, by any stretch of the imagination, justify murder; and to suggest, as Senator Bingham of Connecticut did, that the defendants were "illegally indicted, improperly tried, and never should have been convicted" is to display a complete disregard of law and of justice. Since Mrs. Massie has now left Honolulu, avoiding a process server who wished to subpoena her as a witness in the assault retrial by the football tactics employed by her navy friends, the retrial cannot be held. The Associated Press tells us that "for the first time since the tragic day of January 8, when Kahahawai was killed, the defendants *enjoyed an evening of freedom* in Honolulu last night [May 4]. *They spent several hours in a Chinese restaurant in the Waikiki section with friends, mostly from the navy group*" (italics ours). For them the affair is happily ended. For Kahahawai it is also ended. For the subject races who live under navy rule, for the Far East where white justice is not popular, for Negroes in this country who remember lynchings, for every person who believes honestly in government by law and not by prejudice, it will be remembered for an uncomfortably long time.

Our Watchful Mayor

THE New York newspapers have lately published accounts of the solemn hearings held for the purpose of determining whether or not flea circuses and burlesque shows are detrimental to the high dignity of Forty-second Street. Testimony has involved such relevant matters as Heywood Broun's lack of sartorial elegance; and, while interested, we maintain a strict neutrality, for we are certain that virtue will triumph in a city governed by a mayor who trembles every time he reflects upon the fact that we should no longer have a "clean city" if Tammany should lose its power. We are, however, more interested in the curious fact that a play called "Merry-Go Round," reviewed in last week's *Nation*, is having very unusual difficulties with the city licensing bureau and that these difficulties are generally believed to have something to do with the fact that the play in question deals with the adventures of a gay mayor who is being investigated by a committee strongly resembling that headed by Mr. Seabury.

"Merry-Go-Round" opened at the Provincetown Theater and drew from the critics notices sufficiently favorable to decide its sponsors to move the production to Broadway. It was first booked in the Cort Theater, controlled by the Leblang estate, but for some unspecified reason that booking was canceled. It was then announced to open at the Avon, but when the time arrived a cordon of police appeared to prevent the opening under the pretext that the 1932 license for the theater had not been granted. Now this seems legal enough, but the curious thing is that neither have 1932 licenses been granted to some hundred other theaters of various kinds, none of which has been interfered with. It even appears that the licenses never are granted until later in the year and that no steps ever are taken to interfere with what is an established tradition. Can it be that the Avon was chosen for special attention because the powers that be decided that "Merry-Go-Round" was an affront to their sacred dignity and because they had no intention of permitting lese majeste if they could possibly prevent it? Indeed, Mayor Walker himself, while denying that he had ordered the play closed, is quoted as having said that theatrical friends had advised him that "Merry-Go-Round" was a "rotten show" and that if "that type" of play were permitted in New York the other managers would be forced to give the public the same type in order to make money. The statement is absurd enough to anyone who knows how rarely plays of "that type" find audiences large enough to fill even a minor theater.

Attorneys for the producers will, if necessary, take the case to the courts. We are also glad to notice that the newspapers have prominently recorded the circumstances of the case and we feel sure that the whole business will be settled just as soon as the politicians realize that they have made a grave tactical error both in giving the play its best possible advertisement and also in thus calling public attention to their own supersensitiveness. "Merry-Go-Round" goes to some pains to indicate that New York is not the scene of the play. But its authors have discovered that same tendency on which Pope remarked when he complained of the fact that he could never describe a fool without having several people rise and indignantly proclaim, "He means me."

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It seems there were a couple of rugged individuals—

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Russia Could Help Us

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

THE Soviet Union has shown by now that it can and will thrive whatever the American attitude may be. We can attempt to embarrass Russia and question the integrity of its government, but we cannot dismiss that country as having no meaning for us. To quote from "Russia: Market or Menace?" by Thomas D. Campbell, the Montana wheat farmer: "One thing is certain—a country which comprises an area equal to Mexico, the United States, and Canada, and has a population of 160,000,000 people thrilled with the desire to become the world's leading nation, cannot be ignored by the rest of the world, either socially, politically, or as a factor in the great business of international trade." Prior to the World War our commercial relations with the Russian Empire were distinctly friendly. Even the Congressional furor over the pogroms a quarter of a century ago, which led in 1911 to the abrogation of the commercial treaty of 1832, did not seriously affect these relations. For a few months after the October revolution in 1917 it appeared as though the two countries would soon return to the same friendly basis of doing business. Ambassador David R. Francis had retired and the American embassy was placed in charge of Colonel Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia. Encouraged, perhaps, by the public statements of President Wilson, but in any case convinced that the Soviet regime had come to stay, Robins recommended the establishment of normal trade relations and the negotiation of a commercial treaty. But his recommendations were not favorably received at home, where the red scare of 1919-20 was already brewing. He was recalled by Secretary of State Lansing in May, 1918.

Thus was initiated the official policy of discouraging trade with Russia, a policy that has, despite formal protestations to the contrary, obtained to this day. Of course, the Washington Administration has from time to time asserted that it would do nothing to impede this commerce. On December 6, 1923, in his annual message to Congress, President Coolidge declared that "our government offers no objection to the carrying on of commerce by our citizens with the people of Russia." In a campaign bulletin issued in 1928 Secretary of State Kellogg said: "It is the policy of the United States Government to place no obstacles in the way of the development of trade and commerce between . . . the United States and Russia." But the only positive encouragement of such trade, and that encouragement was none too sincere, came on July 7, 1920, when the State Department announced the lifting of "the restrictions which have heretofore stood in the way of trade and communication with Soviet Russia." The restrictions had consisted primarily of refusing clearance papers to vessels bound for Russian ports. The suspicion remains that the department was inspired to take this action by the opinion of men like Herbert Hoover, then director of the American Relief Administration, who, in testifying before a Congressional committee, urged that the restrictions be removed so as to demonstrate to the Russian people what he considered the "complete foolishness" of the Soviet experiment. He appeared sure that the Bolshevik Government would collapse the moment it came into open competition in world trade with strong commercial countries like the United States. At least the State Department was not moved by any feeling of friendliness, as Secretary Colby unmistakably showed five weeks later in his bitter letter to the Italian Ambassador in Washington.

Since then there has been no change in the attitude of official Washington. In 1927, to be sure, the State Department "modified" its Russian policy by graciously allowing American individuals and business houses to finance their own trade with Russia. But the modification was so conditioned as to make it almost worthless. Only the largest corporations, such as the General Electric Company, can in normal times afford to extend the necessary credit to the Soviet Union out of their own resources. Smaller manufacturers, unless they get help from the banks, cannot do so, and the banks will not help because they are not permitted to issue securities for the purpose of financing such trade. Moreover, Secretary Kellogg revealed what faith the State Department had in Russian commerce when he declared in this connection that "individuals and corporations availing themselves of the opportunity to engage in such trade do so upon their own responsibility and at their own risk." How different is the attitude of Germany and Great Britain!

By emphasizing in its non-recognition policy what it terms the Soviet Union's disregard of "the sanctity of international obligations," the American Government succeeds only in strengthening the belief that Russia cannot be trusted. Activities of individual government officials have the same effect. Immigration authorities have cast suspicion upon the members of more than one Russian trade delegation by hauling them over to Ellis Island for examination before admitting them to the country. Secretary of Agriculture Hyde followed the same course with his unproved charges that Soviet agents were deliberately trying to break the American wheat market. The attack on Russia has since been increased by the propaganda campaign of the manganese and lumber people, who want Russian products barred from this market, and by the Fish inquiry into Communist activities in the United States. It seems never to have occurred to these persons who spread anti-Russian propaganda, or, indeed, to the American business community as a whole, that much of this agitation may be traced, in the words of a prominent American business man, to "European interests anxious to keep the growing Russian trade for themselves." But it must be clear to them that the net result has been to undermine the credit of Soviet Russia in the United States, and so to compel the Russians to buy in other markets.

Numerous efforts were made during the post-war decade to revive commerce with Russia. In 1920 a group of business men organized themselves as the American Commercial Association to Promote Trade with Russia, but their efforts were strenuously opposed by the patriotic societies, the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce (since reorganized), and the American Manufacturers Export Association. In 1923, through the Committee on Russian Trade, the campaign was

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revived because of the growing prospect that British and German manufacturers would capture all the best opportunities in the new market. Largely as a result of the work of this committee a number of American houses were doing a profitable business in the Soviet Union by the winter of 1924-25. Several New York banks helped the movement along by accepting appointments as agents of the Russian State Bank. In 1926 the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce was reorganized with Reeve Schley, vice-president of the Chase National Bank, as its president. The chamber opened an office in Moscow to maintain direct contact with the branches of the Russian Government interested in buying goods abroad. But the drive to sell American products in Russia was not one-sided. The Soviet Government did all that it could during this period to induce American manufacturers to take advantage of the expanding Russian market. The Amtorg Trading Corporation was organized in May, 1924, under the laws of the State of New York, for this very purpose. Some months earlier the All-Russian Textile Syndicate opened offices here to buy cotton, dyes, and related products; Centrosoyus-America was organized to act as buying agent for the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers Societies; and Selskosoyus-America to represent the Russian Union of Agricultural Cooperatives.

In consequence of these activities our trade with Russia increased steadily until 1931, as the following table shows:

Year	*Exports to Russia*	*Imports from Russia*	*Balance in favor of the United States*
1910-14 (average)	$ 24,604,000	$20,865,000	$ 3,739,000
1923	4,550,000	1,448,000	3,102,000
1924	42,103,000	8,168,000	33,935,000
1925	68,906,000	13,120,000	55,786,000
1926	49,906,000	14,122,000	35,784,000
1927	64,921,000	12,877,000	52,044,000
1928	74,091,000	14,025,000	60,066,000
1929	85,011,000	22,551,000	62,460,000
1930	114,399,000	24,386,000	90,013,000
1931	103,700,000	13,100,000	90,600,000

It may be noted that the value of American goods sold in Russia greatly exceeds the value of Russian products marketed in this country. Again, American exports to Russia have been increasing in relation to the total American trade, while imports from Russia in relation to our total import trade have been decreasing. In the 1910-14 period Russia took only 1.1 per cent of the goods we sold abroad. In 1930 Russian purchases amounted to 3 per cent of the total, and in 1931 to 4.3 per cent. In 1910-14 we bought 1.2 per cent of our foreign purchases from Russia. In 1930 we received from that country only 0.8 per cent of our total imports, and last year only 0.6 per cent.

But from the immediate business standpoint the decline in exports to Russia in 1931 is disheartening, and thanks primarily to our non-recognition policy and the anti-dumping clamor, this decline has continued at an accelerated pace in 1932. If this could be attributed to the general slump in world trade, it might not have great significance, but such is not the case. The Soviet Government has not decreased its foreign buying; it has simply transferred a goodly part of it to other countries, notably Germany. In 1930 Russian orders to the value of $131,000,000 were placed in the United States, while orders totaling $136,000,000 were given to German manufacturers. In 1931—that is, after the Hyde outbreak, the Treasury's move to restrict imports, and the Fish investigation had all but destroyed Russian credit here—Soviet orders placed in this country dropped in value to $51,000,000, but those placed in Germany increased to $219,000,000. What is happening in 1932 is shown by the following totals of Russian orders placed in this country during the first quarter of each of the last three years:

1930	$31,258,000
1931	18,962,000
1932	2,056,000

In brief, our sales to Russia have decreased 93.4 per cent in the last two years, have dwindled almost to nothing.

In the first six months of 1930 the Soviet Union was the sixth-best foreign customer of the United States. In 1929 its rating was sixteenth. In the first half of 1930 it bought more American agricultural machinery than any other country. During that period two out of every three tractors exported were bought by Russia. At the same time it was the leading customer for oil-well and refinery equipment and air compressors. In 1929 Russia was the third-largest foreign customer for industrial machinery; fifth in the list of buyers of mining and quarrying machinery; fourth in the purchase of electrical equipment; fourth in buying metal-working machinery; second in buying construction machinery; and (in the first half of 1930) third among the buyers of automotive service appliances. This lucrative business is now in the process of being wiped out.

In 1932 the Russian Government plans to make a total capital investment in transportation, industry, and agriculture exceeding 18,000,000,000 rubles, or almost $10,000,000,000, to be followed with similarly large investments in each of the next several years. A large part of this outlay will go toward the purchase of foreign materials. There is no good reason why the United States should not furnish the bulk of these materials. In the first place, in natural resources, climatic conditions, and geographical and topographical aspects the United States and Russia closely resemble each other, more perhaps than any other two countries. The Russians believe, and correctly, that the types of machinery we have developed to meet these conditions would be more adaptable to their purposes than machinery they can buy elsewhere. Secondly, the mass-production technique we have evolved is in general what the Soviet Union is seeking to duplicate, and here again American machinery and machine products play a large role. Thirdly, the Soviet Government has learned by experience that American engineers have a better understanding of Russian technical and industrial problems than have other foreign experts. And these American engineers work best with American machinery and methods.

Another point generally overlooked by the American business community was raised by the editors of the "Soviet Union Year-Book" in the 1929 volume of that annual:

> Such countries as will take part in the reconstruction of the Union's industries will also, undoubtedly, remain in the future the chief sources of supply; for . . . Soviet industry and other branches of national economy, having once been adapted to certain types of plant and machinery, will also continue to import such machinery, plant, and spare parts from the same source.

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By getting in on the ground floor, therefore, we should probably retain this market for years to come. Russian trade, if we developed it, would unquestionably continue to run in our favor as it has done for years past. Thus we have everything to gain and little to lose by encouraging this trade. All that is lacking is credit, and that could be more easily provided were we, by recognizing the Soviet Union, to break down the distrust of Russia that now exists among American bankers and business men. Such distrust is not justified by the record of the Soviet Government. It has fulfilled every international commercial obligation that it has undertaken without exception. Moreover, recognition would mean the extension of diplomatic protection to Americans doing business in Russia, and would in other ways facilitate their business operations. And Russia is the only active market of importance to be found in the world today.

Benighted Diplomacy

By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

ACCORDING to Sir Henry Wottan's classical definition, a diplomat is an honest man sent abroad to lie for the good of his country. For the past fifteen years the American State Department in its handling of Russian matters has gone Sir Henry one better by keeping its diplomats at home, where they have been even more free than they would be abroad to indulge in all manner of misrepresentation, fantasy, and befuddled skulduggery. What benefit the country has derived from their antics it is difficult to discover. But for a decade and a half a little group of bureaucrats at Washington has stood stock still in firm resistance to all appeals for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the U. S. S. R. Successive Presidents and Secretaries of State have followed their advice, and the American Government, with its head firmly buried in the sands of its own prejudices and stupidities, has remained unshaken in its determination to ignore completely the government of a nation of 160,000,000 people.

One of the most depressing aspects of the situation is that the question of American diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union, like so many political issues in the United States, has almost never been discussed on its own merits. Thanks to the recognition policies of the Wilson Administration, adhered to with few qualifications by its Republican successors, the diplomatic recognition of one government by another has been given a meaning in the popular mind having no relation to its real significance. Soviet recognition is opposed by the American Federation of Labor because Communists are sworn enemies of the type of labor unionism represented by that organization; by the D. A. R. and the American Legion because the "reds" are a menace to American institutions; by American manganese producers because the importation of cheaper and better Soviet manganese reduces their profits; by various ecclesiastical organizations because the Soviet regime is anti-religious; and by all right-thinking, 100 per cent Americans because the very existence of the U. S. S. R. is a challenge to their bourgeois complacency with private property and rugged individualism.

All these arguments and a dozen others on both sides are so far removed from the central question at issue that they have left the whole controversy in a state of almost hopeless muddle. This confusion is a result of a sadly mistaken effort on the part of the American Government to use the power to grant or withhold recognition as a weapon of diplomacy instead of using it, as it has been used in the past by the United States and as it is now used by most other governments, as a means of maintaining necessary political contacts with those in authority in foreign states. For years it was imagined that American non-recognition of the Soviet Government would in some miraculous way contribute to its downfall and that the United States, by withholding recognition, could achieve the same political results in a great country 5,000 miles away that it has at times been able to achieve in Mexico or Nicaragua. This entirely unworkable theory of diplomatic recognition has contributed to the popular idea that recognition is equivalent to moral approval.

Nothing could be farther removed from a sane view of the nature of diplomatic relations or from the traditional recognition policy of the United States itself. During most of the nineteenth century the United States adhered consistently to the de facto theory of recognition, first laid down by Jefferson in 1793, which holds that new governments in foreign states should be recognized as qualified to represent their states internationally as soon as they are in fact in effective control. This is the only conception of diplomatic recognition making possible normal relations between the states of the world. It is the conception all of the other great Powers have adhered to in extending diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Government, which they like no better than do the officials in Washington. Any departure from this criterion necessarily produces an impossible situation in which each state undertakes to tell other states what kind of governments they must have and refuses to remain on speaking terms with states which fail to conform to the arbitrary specifications laid down.

The necessity of maintaining diplomatic contacts between states is so obvious that it would be pointless to speak of it except for the curious misapprehensions and distorted views to which the policy of the State Department has given rise. Only states at war or about to go to war sever diplomatic relations. States at peace must have means of communication with one another in an age in which every great question of world politics affects all states. In the absence of a Soviet Ambassador in Washington and of an American Ambassador in Moscow, the governments of the two largest, wealthiest, and most populous white nations of the earth have no means of speaking to one another about anything. When the State Department is compelled by circumstances to communicate with the government of Russia, it is reduced to such shameful expedients as Secretary Stimson resorted to in December, 1929, when he asked a third government, with diplomatic representation at Moscow, to convey the advice of the American Government to the appropriate authorities. When Commissar Litvinov failed to understand how the

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United States could venture to give advice to a government which it refused to recognize, the Secretary of State was painfully surprised at such obtuseness.

Even the State Department and the White House are no longer disposed to argue that it is the function of the American Government to tell the people of Russia what kind of regime they may establish. For some years past they have contended that the Soviet Government, while in power in Russia without doubt and in a position to discharge its international obligations, is, in principle, unwilling to conduct itself properly. It is alleged that the Soviet Government is not the sort with which normal diplomatic relations can be maintained. Its peculiar viciousness is revealed by the alleged facts that it has repudiated the state debts of Russia to the United States and other countries, that it has confiscated the property of foreign investors, including Americans, and that it indulges in, or encourages, hostile propaganda against other states designed to foment revolution. These pernicious activities, it is argued, are violations of fundamental principles of international law, and no government which is so disrespectful of the rights of other states can be recognized. In the words of Calvin Coolidge:

> Our government does not propose to enter into relations with another regime which refuses to recognize the sanctity of international obligations. I do not propose to barter away for the privileges of trade any of the cherished rights of humanity. I do not propose to make merchandise of any American principles. . . . Already encouraging evidences of returning to the ancient ways of society can be detected. But more are needed. . . . Whenever there appear works meet for repentance, our country ought to be the first to go to the economic and moral rescue of Russia. [Message to Congress, December 6, 1923.]

The State Department has apparently been waiting for works meet for repentance ever since. And our non-recognition policy has ever since been defended in terms which, to anyone familiar with the facts of the case, constitute the most fantastic nonsense ever uttered by one government regarding its relations with another. No honest student of international law or relations can concede validity to the allegations upon which these arguments are based. At no time have any of the innumerable investigating committees of snoopers, scare-mongers, and ultra-patriotic red-baiters adduced any evidence to support the charge that the Soviet Government has indulged in revolutionary propaganda here.

What is more absurd, the very government which hurls these charges of subversive activities against Moscow is the government which for a year and a half (1918-20) blockaded Soviet Russia, subsidized civil war against the Soviets, dispatched 6,000 troops to north Russia to fight the red army, maintained 10,000 troops in Siberia to keep open the route by which war supplies were shipped to Kolchak's white army, and endeavored by every means in its power to bring about the violent destruction of the very regime which it now accuses of its own sins. The Allied and American military intervention constituted a flagrant violation of international law and wrought incalculable damage to its victims. The Soviet Government has never repudiated any of its own obligations—a record which bourgeois governments may well envy—and it has repeatedly expressed its willingness to meet pre-revolutionary financial claims for repudiated debts and confiscated property if the Allied and American governments will only acknowledge their responsibility for making reparation to Russia for the injuries inflicted by their illegal intervention in Russian affairs. The interventionists have never been willing to make such acknowledgment. In 1923 Secretary of State Hughes blandly asserted that the United States "has not incurred liabilities to Russia or repudiated obligations." Despite this denial of responsibility, the Soviet Government is prepared to meet us more than halfway.

Apart from the considerations already suggested, even more cogent reasons of a political character can be advanced at the present time in favor of the abandonment of the policy of unintelligent mysticism to which Washington has hitherto adhered. These reasons are simple and clear. They can leave no doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that Soviet recognition would now constitute not only a consummation devoutly to be wished in terms of the general desirability of restoring contacts, but would also be an important constructive step in the direction of achieving certain concrete objectives which the United States is pursuing in 1932. The avowed major purposes of the United States in world affairs in the present year are to promote disarmament and to check Japanese imperialism in the Far East. These objectives can be attained only if effective means for their attainment can be devised. It is obvious that they cannot be achieved by the United States acting alone. It is equally obvious that none of the Powers of Western Europe is interested in collaborating actively with the United States in protecting China from Japanese aggression or in bringing about any substantial reduction of armaments. There is only one other Power which has a genuine interest in these purposes and that is the Soviet Union. Japanese control of Manchuria is even more distasteful to Moscow than it is to Washington. And disarmament is desired more earnestly by the U. S. S. R. than by the United States. Here is a community of interests and purposes which clearly calls for a type of diplomatic collaboration that the Soviet Government is only too willing to give. Whatever the final outcomes of the Disarmament Conference and the Far Eastern conflict may be, it is not open to question that Russian-American cooperation would constitute a powerful force for peace and a means toward the attainment of the purposes which the United States is pursuing. Diplomatic recognition is an essential prerequisite to such cooperation. The longer it is withheld the less likely is the United States to achieve its purposes and the more discouraging and dangerous are the situations in Geneva and Manchuria likely to become. Under these circumstances, a situation has been created in which, for the first time in a decade, intelligent self-interest dictates Soviet recognition as part of the international program of the United States.

Only naive optimists will assume, however, that recognition will follow the demonstration of these self-evident facts. The Hoover Administration, in Russian matters as in others, is more Bourbon than the Bourbons. There is, in the present writer's opinion, no probability of recognition being extended by Hoover unless some great catastrophe intervenes and compels action. Vanishing foreign trade is little likely to stir an Administration which gave its blessing to the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill. But a Japanese attack upon Siberia, which quite conceivably might be warded off by a resumption of Russian-American relations, would doubtless lead to recognition, since the United States could not afford to assume the position of Japan's ally in such a mad venture.

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Cultural Recognition of Russia

By JOSEPH BARNES

AFTER the American Revolution the last of the great Powers to recognize the United States was imperial Russia. It was thirty-three years after the Declaration of Independence that John Quincy Adams was received at St. Petersburg as ambassador, and not until 1832, one hundred years ago, was the first treaty signed between the two nations. Meanwhile, Russia knew literally nothing of the new country. The United States figured in the conversations of St. Petersburg salons either as an untamed wilderness of fierce barbarians or as a Garden of Eden, unspoiled by laws and institutions, where the Happy Savage had achieved a Golden Age.

At that time, however, the world was in every real sense far larger than it is today. Movement of people and of ideas was slow and expensive. Contemporary American ideas of Soviet Russia are strangely similar to the picture of America held by Russians a century and a half ago, but they must withstand the force of a cultural exchange which in its intensity and its spread cannot be compared with any agencies existing at the earlier time. One American travel bureau offers this year a week in the Soviet Union at a complete cost from New York of $198. The annihilation of space and time which this represents is a new factor in the diffusion of ideas.

In the first years after 1917, naturally, the separation of the Soviet Union from the rest of the world was more complete. The moral *cordon sanitaire* of the Allies, together with the confused conditions within Russia and the inspired inefficiency of Soviet representatives abroad, provided a very real obstacle to those who wished to travel in Russia, and only the more adventurous succeeded. Today the situation has entirely changed. Bolshevism, at least for the Western world, has become less a dread contagion to be fought by isolation methods and more a domestic disease which demands a cure at home. Russia has meanwhile made travel safe and comfortable, and in the American tourist has found at least a partial answer to the remorseless problem of foreign credits. In 1929, 2,800 Americans visited the Soviet Union, in 1930 more than 5,000, and last year the number rose to as high as 9,000.

As tourists became welcome and even helpful to the Soviet Union, various agencies were developed to encourage Russian travel. In the United States, where absence of recognition made the securing of visas difficult, an American organization, the Open Road, began in 1927 to assist travelers to Russia. Its idea of small, coherent groups of travelers, to which community of interest gives a reason for being, fitted admirably into the Russian scheme, where the group is the social unit. Important groups of educators, students, business men, and even Senators have visited Russia under its auspices. So thoroughly has this organized method of travel entered the Russian consciousness, that almost every foreign group, no matter how frivolous, is looked upon as a *delegatzia,* and almost every American is called an "Open Roadovski tourist," no matter how he travels.

The coordination of all travelers' technicalities by the government agency Intourist has further simplified matters. Visas are easily secured. New hotels have been opened and de luxe train service has been inaugurated. A corps of young guides has been specially trained to explain with equal ease the intricacies of a Communist state and the glories of Nijni-Novgorod ikons. Special tours are available into the Arctic on the ice-breaker which rescued members of the Nobile expedition, or into the still unknown steppes of Central Asia where Tamerlane the Magnificent built Samarkand. Bear, moose, and Caucasian ibex can be hunted by special groups, and there are even wolf hunts for those who want them. In Moscow the tourist is promised a new hotel where every room has a shower, and where he may sleep in the bed, made of Karelian white birch, of the Czarina Anne or sit in the tooled leather armchair presented to the late Czar by the Emir of Bokhara.

This curious combination of the new and the old, of American plumbing and palace furniture, is typical of the cultural exchange which has resulted from the American discovery of the Soviet Union. The obstacles in the way of real understanding have been enormous. The strangeness of the language, the Asiatic overtones of Russia, and above all the complicated internal background against which the revolution has developed are all factors to handicap the transient tourist.

A large proportion of the Americans who have visited Russia have been of Russian extraction, returning to see relatives or their former homes. Others have been engineers and their families, en route to or from a construction site which may be beyond the Urals. An increasing number, however, are students and technicians who are interested in the by-products of revolution. It is this last class that has accorded full cultural recognition to the Soviet Union. Students and teachers have gone to study museum technique, criminology, painting, social hygiene, town planning, or soil chemistry. Some of them have written books, and they have all loaned and borrowed ideas on their common problems.

The cultural influence of the American tourist has of course worked both ways. The peasant who has never seen an *Amerikanski* in his life is not hard to find in Russia. Every technician is hungry for foreign, and especially American, ideas. The Russian language, like Russian machine technology, has been deeply conditioned in the last dozen years by American influence, and the tourist has played his part in this process along with the engineer.

With every tourist who goes to Russia, our cultural recognition of the new regime becomes more complete. The difficulties which still bar the road to real understanding are many. At the same time there is in Russia, perhaps more than in any other country, something to be read without language—in a crowd of people hurrying along a street in Moscow, in the rows of faces at a theater, in the huddled groups of peasants on the deck of a Volga steamer. Few tourists who have been exposed to this experience can feel entirely confident in verdicts either of wilderness or of millennium.

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These Senators Say Yes!

THE members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were asked by the editor of *The Nation* to express an opinion on the question of recognition by the United States of Soviet Russia. The statements of those who favor recognition appear below. Senator Borah has long advocated recognition of Russia.

SENATOR BRONSON CUTTING OF NEW MEXICO:

The economic crisis in the United States emphasizes the folly of ignoring our one great potential customer, a customer who needs exactly what we have to sell. In essence, however, the problem is not new. If we had followed the continuous line of American precedent from 1793, the Soviet Government would have been recognized in November, 1917. Such recognition would not have implied any approval of Bolshevik theories or practices. It would simply have acknowledged the actual de facto government. Failure to act in 1917 is directly responsible for the controversies over debts and propaganda which have formed the pretext for our departure from American traditions.

Such controversies grow increasingly trivial and irrelevant. The Kerensky debts, which Russia has never declined to discuss, form an insignificant fraction of what Russia owes to the European countries which have recognized her. Surely, at this particular stage of history, it can scarcely be argued that we should cancel normal relations with every government which shows reluctance to pay its international debts.

As to propaganda, does anyone still believe that a few agents of the somewhat naive Third International can suffice to overturn the faith of the American people in their own government and institutions? As Radek once said, "Revolutions are not carried in suitcases. They cannot be imported; they grow." Misery and despair are the true breeders of revolution. In the past two years the bankruptcy of economic and political leadership has made Communists out of many American citizens whom foreign agitators could never have reached. These people cannot be reconverted by suppression or distortion of the truth; still less by the withholding of diplomatic recognition. They will give their support to the system which wins out in the open market of free discussion and free competition. And those who profess the greatest confidence in the superiority of American institutions should welcome their submission to that acid test. Meanwhile the logic of events, more potent than all the blasts of rhetoric, is forcing this country to admit the tragic futility of attempting to ignore a government which has proved its stability, and to which fair play and self-interest alike demand that we grant immediate recognition.

SENATOR KEY PITTMAN OF NEVADA:

I am in receipt of your letter asking me to give brief expression with regard to the recognition of Russia. The recognition of a government depends upon whether such recognition is of benefit to our government. Up until the last several months it did not appear that our failure to recognize Russia had any effect upon our commerce with that country. Our commerce with Russia, like that of many other countries, has fallen off to a very large extent. In my opinion it is due to economic causes and not to our failure to recognize Russia. I favor negotiations with Russia looking to a reciprocity commercial treaty. If a treaty which is of advantage to our country can be entered into, I would approve. The execution of such a treaty would be the recognition of Russia. I prefer this method of dealing with Russia.

SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER OF NEW YORK:

The policy of non-recognition is rapidly acquiring with age the characteristics of an unreasoned taboo. It began as a temporary measure. It has become a national habit. As is frequently true in such cases the premises that originally furnished a reason for the policy have been gradually abandoned and new premises from time to time substituted in their place. Once we heard much of the instability of the Russian government as ground for non-recognition. At the present time the very contrary is asserted. The probability of the success of the Russian experiment and the consequent competition with our own industries are the arguments most often used for continuing the present official attitude.

It seems absurd that two nations at peace with each other, trading with each other, should not be on official speaking terms. Recognition would promote international understanding at a time when such understanding is vital to the peace of Europe and the peace of the world. Recognition would stimulate trade between the United States and Soviet Russia and thus provide many opportunities for American employment. The Russian people are today deliberately and energetically attempting to lift their standard of living. The Russian demand for commodities is, therefore, steadily rising. Should normal trade between Russia and the United States develop, there is every reason why it should grow indefinitely for many decades to come.

The resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, of course, does not imply approval of Russian doctrines. No more did our recognition of the former Czarist Russia impute to us approval of that autocracy. Some lay great stress upon the danger to our institutions if exposed to Russian ideas. I have no such fear. I have sufficient faith in the American system to believe that it will come out the winner in a free field.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON OF CALIFORNIA:

Normal relations with Russia would aid domestic relief and would tend to remove perils from the Far East. Moreover, it would be wise, sensible, and statesman-like.

There are billions of dollars' worth of future orders in Russia for American workers to fill, and in these times it is simply economic idiocy for America, by its policies, to preclude Americans from trade and commerce which so readily could be obtained.

Secondly, Japan has already seized Manchuria and part of inner Mongolia. Troop movements on both the Japanese and Russian sides of the border have been under way for weeks. A spark may set off the powder barrel at any time. Japan seems to think that Russia's downfall would be acclaimed the world over. Some gesture on the part of the United States, therefore, could well be made to rid her of any such idea.

The United States does not want another world war. Japan would not have the moral support of this country in an attempted conquest of Russia and we should make this clear. Some move in the direction of normal relationships with Russia at this time would do more to remove the perils

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from the Far East, and therefore from the world in general, than any other single act.

SENATOR JOSEPH T. ROBINSON OF ARKANSAS:

I favor prompt consideration of establishing diplomatic and trade relations with Russia as one feature in the policy of promoting amicable international relations and stimulating our foreign commerce.

Such a course of considering now the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations, in my opinion, does not involve approval of the policies of the Soviet Republic. It means the application of well-established principles of international law as well as the recognition of the significance of export trade to the problem of unemployment, now the most acute of all our difficulties.

Comparing the aggregate of domestic exports from the United States in 1931 with 1929 shows that our foreign trade has been cut in half. The establishment of trade relations with Russia under present conditions should be calculated to promote international peace and good-will.

Henry A. Rainey of Illinois, Democratic floor leader in the House, has also expressed himself favorably on the question of Russian recognition. He said:

Our failure to recognize Russia is an economic crime. In 1928 there were eighty-four ships flying the American flag plying between the United States and the Black Sea Russian ports. This has decreased greatly in recent years. In 1930 there were thirty-five. What little cargo now goes to Russia is carried by tramp steamers. In these times I think we should recognize Russia as a means of giving us an outlet for our surplus goods. I am informed that Russia has canceled thousands of dollars' worth of orders recently, primarily because the Hawley-Smoot tariff act barred imports into the United States of goods made by forced labor. If Russia can't sell to us, she won't buy from us, and there is no forced labor in Russia. . . .

The time has come for us to change our policy and recognize Russia and get some of her trade. . . . It is short-sighted statesmanship that keeps us from selling goods in Russia and it is up to the Administration to recognize that nation. We recognize a revolutionary junta in South America two or three days after it has won an uprising.

Nearly every other country in the world does recognize Russia. They're all working to get her trade. Yet we sit back and let our factories stop running and our people stay idle. That is foolish.

What Business Men Think of Recognition

By JEROME DAVIS

RECENTLY I wrote to some fifty of the largest and best-known firms now dealing with Soviet Russia. They included such concerns as General Electric, Henry Ford, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, Westinghouse, and the J. J. Case Company. Replies were received from forty-seven, most of them requesting that their attitudes be kept confidential. Of these, forty-five reported that the Russian authorities had scrupulously lived up to all their agreements, only two stating that they had had difficulties. I asked these concerns whether they saw any objection to recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, provided Russia should settle the claims of our government and of our citizens. Twenty-two favored immediate recognition of Russia; eleven favored President Hoover's appointing a trade commission to Russia to see if business now being carried on could be increased to the mutual benefit of the two countries; four were opposed to recognition. The rest were noncommittal, stating that this was a political issue on which they did not wish to express an opinion. The point of view of the few who opposed recognition is stated by the president of a large company in the following words:

> This planet is not large enough for two such divergent systems to exist in harmony, and although recognition might possibly help us industrially, such help would be temporary. If their program is carried out successfully, this country will not only lose the Russian business but will have been guilty of fostering competition which will in the end work disastrously against our own industries in foreign countries, and, in fact, in our own markets.

The general manager of the Akron Rubber Reclaiming Company stated it as his personal view that "we should broaden our trade with Russia rather than restrict it, and that mischievous political propaganda unfavorable to Russia is not in the best interests of the American people." The president of the Sullivan Machinery Company of Chicago said:

> I believe that the non-recognition of Soviet Russia has been a handicap to some extent, in that if they were able to do some financing here they would no doubt place more business in this country. Notwithstanding the refusal of the United States to recognize Soviet Russia, they look upon the United States as their model for their industrial development, and are unquestionably doing all they can to purchase American equipment, and employing American engineers as instructors, so that even though they are not recognized by our government, they are placing considerable business here, and would undoubtedly like to buy more from us if we in turn purchased raw materials to a greater extent from them.

The president of the C. O. Bartlett and Snow Company of Cleveland stated:

> We are very much of the opinion that it would be to the advantage of business interests generally if this country were to make recognition of Soviet Russia, and if this cannot be done, it would certainly be helpful to a proper understanding of the conditions in Russia, favorable and unfavorable, by business interests in the United States to have a trade commission headed by some outstanding executive examine into and report upon the ways in which and the means whereby business between the two countries can be most advantageously carried on.

Edward A. Filene, of William Filene's Sons Company

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of Boston, made the following reply to a letter similar to my own on the subject of recognition of Russia, sent by the editor of *The Nation:*

> In answer to your inquiry of April 26 I feel that all the facts are in favor of our recognizing the Soviet Government. The ideas that occur to me directly are:
>
> 1. In spite of the fact that I am not a believer in communism as the best way out, yet if the Russian people are willing to make the first experiment of national planning on a national scale, and prove to us just what is the strength and weakness of this movement, then we should be glad that they are willing to do so, and not put unnecessary obstacles in the way of an experiment that will bring out the facts in the case.
>
> 2. The 160,000,000 of Russian people need all kinds of things that we produce or make, and they are one of the best markets in the world, and will be for the next few years—a fact of utmost importance in these bad times.
>
> 3. The Russian people have the same right that we have to try any form of government that they choose, provided of course that it does not infringe on the rights of other nations, and therefore they are entitled as a matter of justice to recognition by other nations.

In other words, the most reliable capitalistic concerns in America, which have had actual dealings with Russia and have representatives in that country, are overwhelmingly of the opinion that we should recognize Russia. Last year we lost $50,000,000 worth of business, in the worst depression the United States has ever had, because of our intolerant attitude against Russia. This is certainly cutting off our nose to spite our face with a vengeance.

One of our most distinguished American jurists, John Bassett Moore, formerly of the World Court, has stated that in signing the outlawry-of-war treaty with Russia we inevitably recognized her government. He urges us to follow the policy of Washington and Jefferson in dealing with the revolutionary government of France, namely, the policy of recognition. Is it too much to hope that our government may soon be willing once more to resume its traditional policy of friendship toward the Russian Government and Russian people?

Britain's Protective Budget

By J. A. HOBSON

THE first budget in Britain's new protective era was announced this week by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The budget speech itself gratified nobody. It failed to fulfil any hopes. The wealthy had confidently anticipated a cut in the too high income tax, which they did not get. The brewers hoped for a lowering of the beer duty. Economists looked for large reductions in the cost of the civil services, and the announcement of some large conversion loan that would ease the debt burden of £300,000,000 which the taxpayers must find every year and which has grown heavier with the lower price level. But none of these hopes matured. The additional taxation, imposed last fall, has been maintained. Some slight changes are made by the restriction of the tea duty and a manipulation of sugar duties and subsidy to farmers and imperial producers. But the budget was a dull stand-still performance with one important exception, the new protection duties, the size and character of which were announced later in the week when the Report of the Advisory Committee was issued. This committee, appointed two months ago to build a scientific tariff on the 10 per cent revenue tariff already adopted, has now made a series of proposals which extend protection to most of our staple manufactures and to some minor agricultural products. The new schedule reeks with taxes upon semi-manufactured goods, articles which are costs of production for the building, the clothing, the machine-making trades. Some of these, indeed, are put upon the highest level of 33⅓ per cent duty. The most significant proposal is a 33⅓ per cent duty for "semi-finished steel and certain rolling-mill products," a provisional instalment of the more permanent protection promised to the iron and steel trades. There are five grades in the proposed tariff, extending from a 15 per cent class which includes agricultural machinery, pulp, and paper board to a 30 per cent class chiefly devoted to luxuries, and topped by the small class of 33⅓ per cent products. Is this a high tariff? Is it designed to secure revenue or to keep out foreign goods? It might be supposed that our financial straits, the difficulty of balancing a budget in a period of unprecedented depression, would have led us to prefer revenue to exclusion. But the surprising statement of Mr. Chamberlain that he expected to take only £5,000,000 extra revenue by putting on these higher duties forces the conviction that he is primarily concerned with keeping out imports. Added to the £27,000,000 already available by the 10 per cent revenue tariff, this would raise the revenue value of this subversion of our free-trade policy to £32,000,000, not a very large contribution toward the total estimated expenditure of £846,000,000 for the year.

How is this revolution of our fiscal policy received by our people? Very quietly upon the whole. Partly because they accept the confident assertion of the Government that direct taxation has already reached its limit, and that the yield of income tax, surtax, and death duties in the coming year must show a considerable fall. Partly because they are duped by the assertion that protection will increase the volume of employment, supported by the not inconsiderable reduction of unemployment that has taken place in recent months, owing chiefly to the fall in sterling. It is evident that our free-trade propaganda has not reached the mind of any large section either of the business men or of ordinary citizens. For all the crudest fallacies of tariffism are rife in our press and public speeches. Mr. Chamberlain calmly assures us that adequate provisions will be taken to safeguard the interests of the consumer. But how and why he does not explain. "His" taxes on foods, raw materials, and machinery must enter into cost of production, and everywhere be passed on in higher prices for final products. All attempts to check this process are fatuous. Effective price control in nearly all instances would simply check production. Indeed, it is noteworthy that during recent debates protectionists have seldom

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adduced the argument that "the foreigner will pay." They prefer to argue that nobody need pay, because a reliable home market will enable industries to utilize more fully their machinery, keep down their overhead charges, and sell more goods at the same or a lower price, with a narrower margin of profit per unit. The childish argument that because some prices of protected articles have not risen—when they would have fallen with the general collapse—therefore tariffs do not tend to raise prices is everywhere accepted as a practical test.

Bearing in mind their mixed mentality, it would not be wise to feel assured that the practical policy of protection will soon make itself manifest. The refusal of Liberal free-trade ministers, like Sir Herbert Samuel, to leave the Government discounts heavily their speeches against the tariff, for it implies that grave dangers are threatening the economic and political safety of the nation. This invisible bogy is never taken from his cupboard, but we are assured that he is there waiting his opportunity to ruin the country. Is he a renewal of unbridled expenditure, unbalancing the budget or the trade balance? Is he disarmament, socialism, or even bolshevism? Nobody can tell, while he is kept in the dark.

Two other points in our new financial declaration deserve mention. One is positive, the other negative. The Government is preparing to borrow a sum up to £150,000,000 for what is called the "exchange equalization account," in gold, sterling securities, at foreign exchange. This is not with a view to an early return to gold, which course, indeed, is deprecated, but with the object of controlling exchange and meeting such calls as upset our finances last fall without disturbance of the value of sterling. The fact that the Government does not anticipate any difficulty in borrowing this large sum bears out the view of Mr. Keynes and other economists that an excess of savings uninvestible in productive industry continues to lie idle in our banks, notwithstanding the depressed incomes yielded by recent business operations.

The other points will have a particular interest for American traders. "In the present budget I am including no receipts for reparations and allied war debts and I am including no outgoings for our own war-debt payments." He awaits the results of the coming Lausanne conference! Afterwards it may be necessary to have a supplementary budget. It certainly will, unless America acquiesces in the suggestion, which she has never entertained, that the payments due to her shall be coupled with the payments due to Britain from Germany and her allies. We are making no provisions for our payment to America next December. What will America do about it? Is it to be repudiation on our part? An ugly word and a damaging deed, if it be done. It may well be true that the sane sense of instructed financiers the world over favors full and immediate cancelation of all these international payments. But politicians, especially during election times, do not see eye to eye with financiers. It will, therefore, seem unfortunate that this budget should have assumed that Lausanne will yield cancelations, when the probability is all the other way. Why did Mr. Chamberlain make this assumption? He would no doubt say that the limits of taxation have been reached, and that failing a definite revival of trade and revenue, the country cannot pay what she owes America out of her own resources. But this is an announcement of contingent repudiation. What does America say to it?

Eugenics, 1932

By H. M. PARSHLEY

BREED one pair of gray mice, and as long as their fertility lasts, nothing but precisely similar gray mice will be obtained. Breed another pair indistinguishable from the first in appearance or behavior, and sixteen different types of young will be obtained, quite regardless of the conditions under which the offspring grow up. This is what is wrong with eugenics.

The inherited traits of mice and of men are transmitted by the same cytological mechanism, and in both cases a complicated hybrid pair is bound to produce offspring which are always diverse among themselves and very frequently quite unlike the parents. In addition to the major races of mankind, which have often avoided interbreeding or miscegenation over long periods of time and have thus retained their distinguishing traits, there are within each race numerous strains, or minor hereditary types, equivalent to the mutants of animal species and typified by the blonde and brunette forms of the white race. It is the free mating of such variations, frequently encouraged by tribal customs like exogamy and by the traditions of sexual selection, that has produced the condition just referred to—the extreme and universal hybridity of the human species. It is quite safe to say that there is no such thing as a thoroughbred human being. Thus it is that great and distinguished men so seldom produce sons or daughters of ability equal to their own; and, conversely, that men and women of great native talent are usually the offspring of mediocre parents.

However, a study of a group of mentally deficient people, known as the Hill Folk, carried on by Davenport some years ago, produced good evidence that mental deficiency does tend to run in families, with outcome disastrous to the people themselves and very expensive to the State. Now the new generation of these people has been investigated by Helen Cheney Miller, who reports (MS) that "the results are very discouraging," in spite of better surroundings in many cases. Careful testing and a study of school records show that feeble-mindedness and subnormality of less degree still mark the clan and bring its members in large numbers into State institutions or otherwise under public care. In fact, 35 per cent of the present generation are definitely feeble-minded. They are immoral in a public and objectionable manner, they spread venereal disease wherever they go; they seem to have no redeeming qualities whatever. When eugenists point out that biological science, at its present stage, is fully justified in recommending practical eugenic measures against such family strains, they are on very solid ground.

How can society cope with a family that is proved to be intellectually deficient in high degree, not only by testing

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the parents but also by applying the "progeny test," that is, the test that biologists like Pearl demand, showing not only what they are but also what they produce? Suppose we accept, as we well may, the principle that feeble-minded people will commonly produce children "like themselves" (although distinguished people commonly will not) and regularly present society with an expensive and useless burden. Can anything be done about it? And can prompt results of value be looked for?

There are two enforceable ways in which the production of inherently defective stocks may be reduced—segregation and sterilization. The individuals of low mentality may be confined, males in one place and females in another, or they may be rendered sterile by surgical means. The first method is already socially accepted and in wide use. The States maintain large and expensive "hospitals," "homes," "farms," "schools," or whatever the asylums for the feeble-minded may be euphemistically called; and in these institutions, under varying degrees of restraint, the unfortunates do useful work and live out their lives in circumstances more or less tolerable according to the character of the officers in charge. This method is effective in preventing reproduction, and it is necessary for the more helpless and the more dangerous among the defective. In fact, it would be employed by any civilized society if eugenics had never been heard of. But it is none the less eugenic in result and can stand, in part at least, as a eugenic measure that is now in actual practice. From this point of view, however, segregation has obvious faults. It is too expensive for adequate employment, and it is humanely applicable only to extreme cases.

These faults are not to be found with the second method —sterilization. But sterilization is *not* socially accepted and in wide use. Why? Because of widespread misunderstanding of its nature among otherwise well-informed people. In addressing civic and academic groups on this subject, one always finds that sterilization is commonly confused with castration. As a matter of fact, the two operations are radically different; and until this difference is clearly understood by legislators and by the public, no great progress in this direction can be expected. Castration is the removal of the gonads (ovaries or testes). Performed in early life it results not only in sterility, but also in various fundamental changes in character, behavior, and physical development. Eunuchs, geldings, capons, and oxen are produced in this manner. In human beings the operation is performed late in life only to remedy diseased conditions. Eugenic sterilization of the male consists merely in severing the fine tubes that conduct spermatozoa from the testes to the exterior, a very minor operation that takes only a few minutes and should cause no change whatever in the patient beyond the loss of fertility. The same is true of the female, except that the operation involves opening the abdominal cavity and is therefore more serious. What are the effects of sterilization in actual practice?

Perhaps the most important eugenic research now in progress is concerned with this very question. California is one of the few States that has a sterilization law in actual enforcement, affording abundant material for scientific investigation of the mental, physical, and social results of the operation. Dr. Paul Popenoe, a biologist of standing, working with the financial support of a philanthropist named E. S. Gosney and with the advice of a committee of "recognized authorities in various lines," has published a series of about twenty scientific papers (most of them summed up in a book "Sterilization for Human Betterment"), reporting upon the condition of numerous individuals sterilized since the law went into effect in 1909. More than 6,000 operations have been performed to date, and enough time has elapsed in many cases to warrant the announcement of results.

Sterilization is not a punishment; it is performed only on the insane and feeble-minded with the consent of relatives and usually of the patient and under the direction of several competent civil and medical authorities; its purpose is to prevent the propagation of unquestionably serious hereditary defects; it is practiced in California with absolute racial and social equality; and it has no deleterious effect on the sex life of those who return to their families. Dr. Popenoe and his associates are studying all such points with the greatest care and their published results already justify these statements. They remark:

> The families of the sterilized patients approve almost universally of the operation. No one realizes better than they the undesirability of further child-bearing when the parents are unable to support the children or train them properly, and when the children themselves may inherit a handicap that will darken their future lives. If the children are normal, they will suffer by being brought up by a parent who is insane or feeble-minded. They may seem to be normal, but later reveal the inherited tendencies. These facts are present in the minds of relatives as the outgrowth of tragic experience. . . . In no case has the operation broken up a home or disturbed a family relationship.

Nearly all the feeble-minded are sterilized before leaving State institutions, and many come for that purpose only; but of the insane only one in twelve has been treated, since insanity in many of its forms is not known to be hereditary. Socially the results have been extraordinarily beneficial, according to the data obtained by study of paroled individuals and according to the practically unanimous agreement of State officers and social workers. Two-thirds of the released patients have made good, many of them marrying with "reasonable success," but without a flock of defective children.

An especially interesting study has been made of the "effect of vasectomy on the sexual life." Among the patients were thirty-six men who had been in State hospitals for mental disease and sixty-five normal men, who had been voluntarily sterilized. Only 7 of the 101 reported any decrease in sexual activity and these were mostly old. The mean elapsed time since the operation was five years. In general an improvement in marital relations was noted, with no deleterious effects on health whatever. A study of 177 sterilized women disclosed the fact that only three reported a decrease in sexual feeling, while ***one-third*** of the total number claimed an *improvement* in this respect! Such improvement is probably due to removal of the fear of pregnancy, and again the conclusion is reached that sterilization produces "no effect whatever on the patient's sexual life."

Owing to the fact that unseen, recessive hereditary defects are common in the general normal population—and are bound to appear whenever the Mendelian requirements are fulfilled—no scheme of negative eugenics can eliminate, say, feeble-mindedness in short order. Even if every overt case were kept from reproduction, many new ones would come

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from the matings of normal-appearing "carriers," and so a new supply of defectives would spring up. But these "extracted recessives" are few in comparison to the high percentages produced by the matings of obvious defectives, and thus sterilization, persistently and universally carried out, would undeniably have a cumulative effect of the greatest social value.

In the Driftway

ARE college students radical? Do they think? Are they aware of the world in which they live? These questions may be answered yes or no. Occasionally the students offer an answer themselves. The Drifter has just received a pamphlet called "Economics for a Depression." It comes from Student Opinion, General Delivery, Iowa City, Iowa—in other words, it is anonymous. It prints letters to which it attaches no names, and describes universities without specific designation. Nevertheless, it makes a number of pointed remarks about the world in general and universities in particular. Discussing the question of what a student thinks about, the Foreword says:

> Why are we silent, with no student opinion? It's a lie; we do have opinions. Why not make a noise with them? The answer to that is, just where would we go to make the noise? Most of us don't have noise enough to fill a pamphlet. As for the university press—just try for yourself getting anything in that. We have got to have Ripley and read turnip-headed cartoons about the folks at home, and when that is put in there is no room for student opinion. . . . What follows is for us a very expensive venture in expressing our attitude toward things in general. . . . We should like to use personal names and refer to specific instances, and we are assured we would not be sued for libel. We also take these topics very seriously, and whatever cleverness and humor you find attempted you can be sure are put there in deference to the reader.

* * * * *

WHAT is this serious attitude toward things in general? It is pretty vague. It implies that things are in a bad way, that the university is ready to close down because of lack of money, that lots of people are out of work, that tosh of all sorts is discussed in classrooms and on the campus, that professors have no spinal columns, that the bankers and the industrialists have ruined the country. The Drifter does not wish to be unjust, or to make his description of these ideas too flippant. But as he reads this pamphlet of sixteen pages, he is rather depressed than otherwise. He is forced to conclude that the hearts of these students who desire to think are in the right place. But their heads are not quite so fortunately situated. Not, he hastens to say, that he would quarrel with their point of view, so far as he understands it. But that they are neither clear, specific, nor—outmoded word, even applied to university students—sufficiently learned.

* * * * *

HARD as it will be for them to hear it said, it is probably not important what college students think of things in general. As they gradually become aware of the world about them, they will perceive injustice, partiality, irrationality. Which is well. But if they can confine themselves to one small portion of the world's injustice and irrationality, no matter what the portion is, and make themselves really familiar with it, they will render a service to themselves and curiously enough to the world in general. For what the world wants is facts, not opinions, except when they are the opinions of experts. The master of facts, no matter how few, is, in a world fed on windy ignorance, master also of his fellow-men. But facts are obtained only by hard work; almost never by loose speculation. And when facts are presented, it is advisable to present them not only clearly but grammatically. It is not well to write, as did the students of Iowa City: ". . . incomes have been diminishing, a good proportion of the population has gone practically unaffected, with the result that we have been muddling through, half undecided what to make of the matter. . . . If all sources of income had been absolutely cut off in 1925, . . . something revisional would have been done." Something revisional should undoubtedly be done. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Kentucky Editors Look at Kentucky

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have your note requesting a "word as to whether you approve the attitude taken by the authorities in Bell and Harlan counties and by the Governor of Kentucky that the borders of Kentucky are to be closed to people entering the State with a view to seeing with their own eyes the existing conditions in those two counties." I assume that your reference to the Constitution is merely in substance the expression of a desire to know whether in my opinion the action of the authorities is legal. May I suggest you should qualify people? Some people, not all, have been barred from Bell and Harlan counties.

It is quite true that "there is nothing in the Constitution which authorizes a State to close its borders to citizens of other States." But there are many other things that are not authorized by the Constitution. It is needless to cite to *The Nation,* which has for years made a valiant fight against the arbitrary exercise of extra-constitutional power by governmental authorities, that there is nothing in the Constitution authorizing the supervision or censorship of mail or the deportation of aliens. Yet I am confident that if Theodore Dreiser's mind were reduced to printed form, it would be barred from the mails under the law prohibiting the transmission of obscene matter. If it is merely a question of constitutional construction, I think it no more violative of the Constitution to bar Dreiser himself, mentally corrupt and physically obnoxious, from the State than to bar the product of his mind from the mails.

I do not, however, opine that it is a question of constitutional construction upon which you want a word from the editors of Kentucky, but upon the situation that has arisen in Bell and Harlan counties. What are the facts? I do not know. I have talked with owners and operators of the coal mines in that section, with county and judicial officers, with miners and citizens not connected with the controversy. I have full assurance that the intent of those with whom I have talked was to speak only the truth. But their statements were so at variance that I have not been able to reconcile them sufficiently to reach a definite conclusion as to the facts. I do know, however, that the situation is most serious; that many of the

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men there are endeavoring to the very best of their ability, with as high a sense of obligation to the State and to the nation as I or any of my associates or acquaintances have, to meet and solve the problem with which they are faced.

I regret they did not permit the students of various colleges to complete their jaunt. On the other hand, I readily understand their resentment at the apparent effort to use the situation existing in those counties, and the men who are playing a game in which life and property and established customs are at stake, as a laboratory or zoological garden for the study and amusement of a group of immature boys and girls. I can understand something of the mental attitude of the men charged with responsibility in those counties, who feel that it is the part of wisdom to prevent the incursion of irresponsible men and women or boys and girls who, instead of pouring oil on troubled waters, may pour oil on smoldering embers that may flash into a disastrous conflagration.

Wherefore did Dreiser and his group go to Harlan and Bell counties? I was in New York when every paper had a story of a dinner to discuss and plan the excursion of Dreiser and his associates to those counties. I saw no word of a desire on their part to ascertain the facts for the purpose of bringing peace and accord between the antagonistic elements. The whole project, from the holding of the dinner till the arrival in Kentucky, smacked of the activities of publicity hounds.

What prompted those students to come to Kentucky? I do not believe anyone would have objected to their coming had they come merely as students on a jaunt, or as tourists, or even as investigators controlled by the ordinary precepts of regard for others and appreciation of the situation that exists. Hundreds of tourists pass through that section. No one of them has been attacked or even annoyed. All of them have reported courteous consideration.

I do not speak with authority but would guarantee with my life the verity of my prediction that the people and the officers of that section would not only permit but welcome an investigation by such men and women as Walter Lippmann, Claude Bowers, Bernard Flexner, Justice Brandeis, Jane Addams, Grace Abbott, or others whom I could name, who have the respect and confidence of those who are trying to solve the problems that confront us today. And though I may disagree with the conclusion of those who are on the ground and upon whom rests the burden of decision, I shall not condemn them for opposing the entry of others until I know the full facts; and the citation of a provision of the Constitution will not affect my decision.

DESHA BRECKINRIDGE,
President, Lexington *Herald*

Lexington, Ky., April 12

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your letter of recent date is received. Of course, I disapprove the denial of constitutional rights, whether in Bell and Harlan counties in Kentucky or elsewhere in the country, and have repeatedly taken this position in both the *Courier-Journal* and the Louisville *Times* with reference to the specific case in Harlan County.

It is true, as you say, that "the good name of Kentucky has been greatly damaged," but this damage has been wrought as much by false reports of what has happened as by the actual happenings themselves. I have repeatedly and publicly expressed my disapproval of some of the methods pursued by the authorities in Harlan County, but at the same time I can understand the resentment of the people of that county against some of the bumptious, insulting, prejudiced people, largely notoriety seekers, who have injected themselves into a situation already difficult and trying. I utterly disapprove of the violent, and I believe illegal, efforts pursued in some instances, but it must be remembered that there are two sides to this question, as to all others. I know many people who have gone quietly to Harlan County to study conditions there, including representatives of numerous colleges and my own representatives. In no case have they met with any hostility or opposition. There are many people hungry in Harlan County, as there are in other parts of our country. Up to this time, through the efforts of the Harlan County people themselves, aided by the Red Cross, the Quakers, and other organizations, there is no starvation there. When the World War came on, no draft was necessary in Harlan County because a sufficient number of citizens of the county had already volunteered. Many of these people are ignorant and many of them have grave faults, as have other people. But as a class they have a deep-rooted loyalty to their country and a strong religious sentiment. It is the last place in the country where communism has an opportunity to spread. It is very easy to condemn the people of Harlan from a distance. Where they have pursued a violent and illegal policy I condemn them, too, but in the light of full knowledge of all facts, which I have, I can at least understand the attitude of a people, seeking to settle their difficulties in a helpful and peaceful way, when confronted with repeated invasions by persons who do not come as courteous, intelligent, impartial observers, but as notoriety seekers and trouble-makers.

R. W. BINGHAM, President and Publisher,
Courier-Journal and Louisville *Times*

Louisville, Ky., April 12

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There has been a great deal of tragic silliness on both sides of the question regarding the exercise of personal liberty in Bell and Harlan counties. Kentucky authorities in the coal regions have exhibited a deplorable lack of ordinary common sense and ignorance of ordinary public psychology. On the other hand, I haven't much sympathy with a great many of the visitors, regardless of their political persuasions, who seek to make a *cause célèbre* out of an unfortunate situation. The pother that has been stirred up has caused many to forget the deep underlying causes of the coal-field distress, which are economic, geographic, and, in the past winter, climatic, because warm weather lessened the demand for coal.

I believe that if Harlan and Bell counties had said to all visitors, whether sightseers, parlor radicals, or authors pregnant with new books, "Sure, boys, look around all you want as long as you behave yourselves," southeastern Kentucky would cease to be attractive as an excursion ground.

D. E. WEAVER, Editor, *Kentucky Post*

Covington, Ky., April 7

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I think I understand clearly the condition which exists in Bell and Harlan counties and I am positive that agitators, N. M. U. organizers, and at least some investigators have been incendiary and seditious disturbers. Because their presence has been positively inimical to the peace and happiness of our community and has incited class hatred and open revolution, our authorities have had grounds to invoke Kentucky's criminal-syndicalism laws in dealing with them.

Specific acts may be cited as violations of the right of peaceful assembly and free speech, but because our authorities have done the best they could under trying circumstances to preserve the peace of our community and to protect our citizenry from fratricidal strife, regardless of mistakes which they may have made, I want to say that I stand squarely back of them.

The right of free speech and free assembly guaranteed by the Constitution is a precious heritage of American liberty, but that right cannot be allowed to clash with the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness of the people. In southeastern Ken-

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tucky we do not propose to hazard our lives, property, and peaceful pursuits by allowing the revolutionary agents of communism to stir up sedition and strife among our people.

ROBERT L. KINCAID,
Editor, Middlesboro *Daily News*
Middlesboro, Ky., April 7

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letter inquiring whether we approve "the attitude taken by the authorities in Bell and Harlan counties." May we correct an impression you seem to have? The borders of Kentucky are not closed to persons entering the State with a view to seeing with their own eyes existing conditions there or elsewhere. Those borders have been closed to parties of delightful young men and women intent on publicity and determined to make out a case.

We do not dispute that conditions are deplorable and that much has been said and done in heat and temper which could better have been left unsaid and undone. There has been no general denial of free assembly and speech, so far as our information goes, and we have generally found it reliable.

If, as you say, the good name of Kentucky has been hurt, it will, perhaps, be impertinent and outside the question to suggest that much that has happened in New York has not raised outside opinion of that great Commonwealth. We offer this not as an argument but as an observation.

E. A. JONAS, Editor, *Herald-Post*
Louisville, Ky., April 7

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Answering your communication of April 4 requesting us to give our opinion on the attitude of authorities in Bell and Harlan counties and of the Governor of Kentucky toward persons entering the State with a view to seeing existing conditions in these places, we are pleased to say that our sympathy is with the authorities and the Governor, who in our opinion acted wisely. The Constitution, as you say, guarantees the right of "peaceful" assembly in any part of the United States, but does not guarantee meddling in the affairs of private corporations. We do not believe the Bell and Harlan county authorities would object to any person or any group of persons inspecting the mines, if they believed these persons were coming upon a peaceful mission.

J. CURTIS ALCOCK,
Editor, Danville *Daily Messenger*
Danville, Ky., April 7

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In reply to your letter of April 4 with regard to my attitude on the actions of county and State officers in the Kentucky coal fields, I must admit that I have viewed the situation with mingled feelings. On the one hand I have believed that it was foolish to prevent the students from going into the section unless they actually committed a crime, but on the other hand I do not believe that a bunch of Kentucky students going to New York City to investigate gang slayings, rottenness in the court system, acceptance of graft by public officials, with all the fanfare that accompanied the students visiting our Commonwealth, would be accepted very graciously.

The students have had their publicity; they have basked in the limelight of the nation for a day. The officers of Kentucky have been made to appear as warring on students whose only crime was a desire to see for themselves. At the same time the fair name of Kentucky has been bespattered. Expulsion of the visitors was just pouring so much oil on a fire that raged and flamed higher at each attempt to put it out.

DUDLEY H. TAYLOR,
Managing Editor, *Daily Kentucky New Era*
Hopkinsville, Ky., April 7

Contributors to This Issue

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, a member of the department of political science at the University of Chicago, is the author of "American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917," and is now working on a general study of "International Politics" which will be published next fall.

JEROME DAVIS, professor of practical philanthropy at the Yale Divinity School, has spent much time in Russia.

JOSEPH BARNES returned recently from a nine months' stay in the Soviet Union, where he studied finance and economic planning.

J. A. HOBSON is one of the foremost British economists and a contributing editor of *The Nation.*

H. M. PARSHLEY is professor of zoology at Smith College.

LOUIS M. HACKER, in collaboration with Benjamin B. Kendrick, is the author of "The United States Since 1865."

BARTHOLD FLES is a translator and foreign-language reader for various publishers.

SAMUEL C. CHEW is professor of English at Bryn Mawr.

ALEXANDER KAUN, associate professor of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of California, is the author of "Maxim Gorky and His Russia."

The Failure of Big Business
Oswald Garrison Villard
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Finance

"Protection" Under Difficulties

THE vacillation of the Senate Finance Committee with regard to taxes on imported commodities (solemnly distinguished from tariff duties on imports) affords striking evidence of the confusion of the public mind in meeting the fiscal problem which confronts the country. Import taxes on coal and oil have been voted into and out of the bill in its progress through the House and Senate committees with such rapidity as to bewilder those who sought to analyze their effects on American producers of these commodities. Protection for these producers, strongly tinctured by the feeling that something ought to be done to raise prices wherever possible, is the dominant motive; but the proposal to tax rubber at rates equivalent to from 166 to 333 per cent ad valorem on the present price of three cents a pound is advanced as a revenue measure. It surely would be, since none of the material is produced here, and for that reason it should receive the same careful consideration as the proposed tax on motor vehicles, which goes no higher than 6 per cent.

Copper affords as good an illustration as any of the difficulties confronting the tax framers—not the least of which is the campaign of the so-called lobbyists, who in many cases are genuine experts in their commercial fields. A tax of four cents a pound on imports was written into the bill; it was removed, replaced, and may be removed again by the time these words appear; but it is worth considering. Copper now sells for about six cents a pound in the international market. Under the proposed tax on imported metal, domestic products would have the market to themselves until the price got up to ten cents, when foreign competition would again have to be reckoned with.

Copper entering the United States, however, is foreign only by the accident of location. It is produced by American enterprise and American capital. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company has a stake in foreign production in its Andes mines in Chile and its control of the Chile Copper Company. Kennecott production comes from Alaska, from the Braden Company in Chile, and from various sources in the United States, including Kennecott's ownership of 98½ per cent of the Utah Copper Company's stock. Cerro de Pasco, dominated by American capital, is wholly outside of the domestic fold, drawing its supplies from Peru. Phelps Dodge works principally within American territory, but American Metal has investments in Cuba, Mexico, South America, and South Africa.

A tax on imported copper, therefore, would not hit the foreigner directly, but the American who happens to do his copper mining abroad. Even so, it seems obvious that the tax would not raise the domestic price. As with wheat and oil, the United States has been an exporter rather than an importer of copper; the argument for protection leans heavily on the fact that in a few recent months imports have exceeded exports. The simple fact is, however, that the enormous stocks of the metal above ground in the United States, and the productive capacity now idle, militate far more powerfully against an advance than does foreign competition. Supplies from American mines in South America and Mexico would be diverted to Europe, if taxed, would break down prices there, and might cut off the American export market for copper and (if the American domestic price actually were higher) injure the foreign market for American automobiles, electrical equipment and machinery, and other products containing copper. No immediate benefits, but many future evils, are inherent in the copper import tax.

S. PALMER HARMAN

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Books, Music, Drama

Song for Robert Herrick

By RUTH LECHLITNER

Now may the ghosts of heaven break
  Their prison; winds that keep
Young Beauty locked in willow, shake
  The cradle of her sleep.

And may all lovely things forget
  No greater grief than lies
Beneath the lids of violet
  That open with her eyes.

May lovers kiss, in gentle rain,
  The swan-white breast of cherry;
And Julia lift red lips again
  From beds of wild strawberry.

Carl Schurz

Carl Schurz: Reformer (1829-1906). By Claude Moore Fuess. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.75.

THE reader will find himself very easily falling under the spell of Mr. Fuess's persuasion. This first complete life of Carl Schurz—which is, at the same time, the best of the volumes thus far to appear in the American Political Leaders series—should prove a model for all those persons who would erect enduring monuments to their heroes. Biographer and subject are so completely in agreement; Mr. Fuess, like Carl Schurz, is so whole-heartedly sympathetic toward the cause of reform, so fully convinced that good men, by their leadership and example, can cure a society's distempers; as a result, the personalities happily merge and Mr. Fuess has eyes only for the things that Carl Schurz saw.

The book is therefore an appealing though, if I may say so, a somewhat ingenuous study. Carl Schurz is the ardent young German rebel who seeks a refuge in the land of opportunity after the collapse of the revolution of 1848. He masters a foreign tongue so well that only Bob Ingersoll and Wendell Phillips are his rivals on the popular lyceum platforms of the day. He becomes so quickly grounded in the history and institutions of his adopted land that before he has reached thirty he plays a leading part in the Lincoln-Douglas contest of 1858. He makes Lincoln President; he comes out of the Civil War a major general; he forms an independent party; he sits in the United States Senate; he helps elect Hayes governor of Ohio and then President of the United States; he adorns a Cabinet; he is named the editor of the country's outstanding weekly. Always, or nearly always, he is so plainly on the right side of every public question.

It is at once apparent that the catalogue of causes Schurz championed reads like a liberal text in the political issues of the Gilded Age. He was the first public protector of the Indians; he could justly lay claim to being the father of the conservation movement; he never joined the G. A. R., and he always refused to lift a finger in aid of the shameful pension agitation of the returned soldiers; he calmly forsook party loyalty and all hopes of political recognition by his defections from the Republican ranks in 1872 and 1884.

If the record in certain other particulars was not all that one might wish it, the fault was not entirely Schurz's: the trouble lay not in his character but in the role he assumed. He chose to be a reformer, a molder of public opinion. Often, therefore, he was compelled to move before he was fully aware of all the perplexities at the heart of a question; sometimes he had to pick between two sets of evils; now and then he helped launch a train of events whose consequences were immeasurably worse than those he sought to eradicate.

Thus, Schurz was an abolitionist before the Civil War and a consistent friend of the Negro race ever afterward. But his attachment to the cause of the blacks permitted him, in 1865, when he made his report to President Johnson on the condition of the South, to play into the hands of the radical Republicans. The South had to be disciplined—to Schurz this was necessary to gain civil liberties for the Negroes; to the radicals it was a cloak for the realization of the economic aims for which the war had been fought.

Schurz was a theoretical free trader. But zeal for this principle did not prevent him from supporting first Greeley and then McKinley, both vocal and unashamed protectionists. For Schurz, in these instances, the greater benefits were the downfall of Grantism and the defeat of Populism; yet one of the fruits of McKinley's victory was the tariff act of 1897.

Schurz was a pacifist and an anti-imperialist. In 1866, however, he was looking forward to a war between Prussia and France as a necessary step in the unification of Germany; less than twenty years after he had fled his native land, an exiled revolutionary, he was hailing Bismarck as the man of the hour.

Schurz was, from the beginning, the stalwart defender of the "sound"-money cause. But like all other good friends of the gold standard, apparently he was not able to look behind the soft-money programs for the reasons for Western and Southern agrarian discontent.

Schurz was, during his whole adult life, a civil-service reformer. How was he to tell that taking the federal jobs out of politics was to help accelerate the entry of big business into it? In the campaign of 1880 Garfield was interested in "what the office-holders are doing," for these were the only ones who really contributed to the party strong boxes; in the campaign of 1888 John Wanamaker and Matt Quay were shaking down all those manufacturers who were afraid of Cleveland's low-tariff heresies—the party hacks had turned to the tapping of new sources of revenue when legislative fiat had dried up the old ones.

For fully half a century Schurz flung a lance against the oppressive forces, the corrupting influences, the evil factions in American affairs. "In my public life," he declared, "I have not seldom seemed to stand alone and deserted, but never long." This was true. Sooner or later all the friends of honest government rallied about him—the Adamses, the Storeys, the Curtises, the Eliots, the young Lodges and Roosevelts—not a respectable American of the Gilded Age that did not follow him, at one time or another, when he marched out against the foe. There can be no question that his was a useful and a happy life.

If this reviewer has permitted a note of doubt to creep into this recital it is perhaps because he is a little irritated at the complacency of Carl Schurz—and Mr. Fuess. Did Schurz see nothing else? Were the unregenerate Southern whites, the stupid bureaucrats in the Indian Office, the politicians of easy virtue, the expansionists, the protectionists—were these the only devils to be exorcised? It would seem so. Carl Schurz lived in an age when Rockefeller, Carnegie, Armour, McCormick, and a host of other "captains of industry" were building up huge fortunes by predatory devices. He sat in Hayes's Cabinet when federal troops were dispatched to break up the railway strikes of 1877. He was a leader of public opinion when Frick sent 300 Pinkertons up the Monongahela River to attack the Homestead strikers. He was lecturing up and down the land

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when the alleged leaders of the Haymarket riots were railroaded to the gallows. He was the editor of *Harper's Weekly* when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was solemnly invoked to throw Debs into jail and wreck the American Railway Union. He was one of New York's first citizens when the greed of ground landlords and sweatshop operators permitted a hideous city of slums to fester and grow so that the death-rate of children under five, in some of the tenement areas, was as high as 140 per 1,000. He knew the Western country out of which emerged Jerry Simpson, W. A. Peffer, and Mary Lease to sound the tocsin of revolt for the oppressed tillers of the soil. An occasional reader may wonder, with this reviewer, that none of these matters is given even passing attention in this full history of the life and times of Carl Schurz. Mr. Fuess tries to explain at one point by saying that Schurz was not interested in "social reform." It was perhaps simpler than that: Schurz was but too well not only a man of his times but a representative of his class.

Mr. Fuess, in commenting on Schurz's entry into the Senate in 1869, says approvingly: ". . . Schurz had, for the first time, an opportunity to turn his passion for reform into workable channels. Instinctively he desired all his life to improve conditions around him and he was untiring as an advocate of the basic principles of humanity, equality, and justice." Do the "basic principles of humanity, equality, and justice" change from generation to generation? Or were all the great causes for which Schurz battled so valiantly not quite as important as they seemed?

LOUIS M. HACKER

The Price of Being Sensible

Two Living and One Dead. By Sigurd Christiansen. Translated by Edward Bjorkman. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

THIS inter-Scandinavian prize novel treats of a strange interlude, a phantasmagoria, lasting nine years, in the humdrum existence of a mail clerk in a small Norwegian town. The story starts off with a sensational hold-up in the post office. Of the three clerks on duty, one, Kvisthus, resists and is killed; the second, Lyderson, raises an outcry and is knocked unconscious; but Erik Berger, the third clerk, after a moment's hesitation, steps aside and surrenders his cash box to the two masked robbers, who escape, leaving the "two living and one dead" on the scene.

Public opinion condemns Berger as a coward; conversely, Lyderson is praised as a hero and rewarded, first by a cash bonus, later by an early promotion over Berger's head. Although the case is dropped officially, Berger feels that he is dishonored, and develops a persecution complex through his frustrated resentment at the unfair treatment he receives. Even his wife is disappointed in him. At his request he is transferred to Oslo, where a casual meeting with Rognaas, a bank clerk, develops into a warm friendship. Berger is horrified when one day his friend confesses to having been one of the amateur hold-up men; the other robber in the post-office affair has died in an accident.

Rognaas had been inevitably drawn to Berger by their mutual interest in the case, and deliberately planned to meet him. He tells about the cowardly part Lyderson played in the affair, and soon leaves town, unmolested, after anonymously replacing the stolen money. Berger, now satisfied that he, too, would have been killed had he resisted, is overjoyed that he was too level-headed to sacrifice his life and the future of his wife and child merely for some government money, as did his friend Kvisthus. He proves to his own satisfaction, by means of a clever trick, that Lyderson really is a contemptible coward and a windbag, and feels like a new man, exonerated in his own eyes; and when he tells his wife everything, she at last feels as he does.

The novel is written in a simple, straightforward manner, in clear prose, and is presented in a smooth translation closely following the original. The moral—if any—is conveyed by implication. The psychological end is particularly well handled, as is the craving of Berger, just an average man, when under suspicion, to be "like an ordinary human being again." One cannot but sympathize with this unfortunate, lonely under-dog, who simply substitutes common sense for useless heroism and is forthwith ostracized. Christiansen here proposes a problem, but he does not provide a solution, probably because there is none. Berger can regain his self-respect only by losing his one remaining friend, proving once more, one supposes, that in life we pay heavily, and often exorbitantly, for all we get.

BARTHOLD FLES

Carlyle

Carlyle. By Emery Neff. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

TO Froude must be attributed the credit for Carlyle's escape from exploitation at the hands of the debunking biographers who ran roughshod over great reputations during the nineteen-twenties. He was outspoken; and his opponents were quite as frank. The Carlyle-Froude controversy left little opportunity for the debunkers. They looked elsewhere, selecting as victims those Victorians whose prestige had been inflated in official biographies. It was of course possible to "expose" the Sage of Chelsea as a philosopher, a critic, a historian, and a sociologist; but hardly as a man—the latter exhibition had been very nakedly accomplished before the debunkers came along. The most severely hostile criticism of Carlyle the thinker and writer is perhaps that of Mr. Norwood Young, published some four years ago. Mr. Young took as his text the remark made by a contemporary that Carlyle "loved earnestness rather than truth." He proceeded to state his case with so much exaggeration as to heighten the reader's sympathy for Carlyle.

Professor Neff has no thesis to propound. His purpose is to retell, at moderate length, the story of Carlyle's career, interweaving into his narrative a certain amount of criticism of his work. The personality and the work are set against the background of nineteenth-century English society and politics and thought; and this background, carefully composed, is most valuable for an understanding of Carlyle. Particularly excellent is the account of the conditions in the publishing world with which a writer had to contend at the time that Carlyle was slowly making his way. Mr. Neff does not break new ground here; the facts were already well known, and Mr. Sadleir has recently had to cover much the same field in the first volume of his new biography of Bulwer. But there was a need to "place" Carlyle in this milieu. Strictly speaking, there is not much of novelty in Mr. Neff's book. He has visited the places associated with his hero; he knows intimately the abundant literature of the subject; he has examined the documents. But his book is not the product of what we call original research. Perhaps it is all the better for that. It is a serene, lucid, and dispassionate narrative, an interesting summary of a fascinating story.

Though books about Carlyle—more frequently of late about "the Carlyles"—are very numerous, there was room for this one. Jane is relegated to her proper place. So are gossip and scandal. Mr. Neff's work does not take the place, and it was not intended that it should take the place, of D. A. Wilson's enormous biography, still incomplete. But most people have not the time to read Mr. Wilson's many volumes. Mr. Neff

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offers them a convenient substitute, of moderate length, of moderate tone, and of moderate price. Within its narrow limits it is of course not exhaustive. In particular, more might well have been said of Carlyle's work as a critic of literature and as the importer into England of German ideas. The fundamental defects of the three histories are barely glanced at, though Mr. Neff admits them in passing, especially with regard to the "Frederick the Great." The most serious charge that can be brought against Carlyle's sincerity is that though before he finished the "Frederick" he came to realize that his initial conception of his "hero" was a mistaken one, he did not acknowledge the mistake when the final volumes were published. Mr. Young held that he was here guilty of deliberate deception. This Mr. Neff denies. Nor does he touch upon the matter of the forged letters of Cromwell which Carlyle thought genuine.

Mr. Neff believes that with the contemporary decline in implicit faith in democracy there may be a revival of interest in Carlyle. He calls attention to the interesting fact that translations of selected passages have sold widely in Fascist Italy and even more widely in post-war Germany. If such a revival comes in the United States, Mr. Neff's book will be useful as an impartial and informing introduction to the subject. Perhaps it may aid in bringing about the revival.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

Building New Russia

Soviet River. By Leonid Leonov. With a Foreword by Maxim Gorki. The Dial Press. $2.50.

ONE of the youngest Soviet writers, Leonid Leonov, has been rapidly maturing in his grasp of contemporary realities. Even the Communist one-hundred-percenters are almost ready to accept this "fellow-traveler," with reservations to be sure. For us who are, like Leonov, not of the party, his value is patent, regardless of whether his ideology meets with the approval of Soviet Torquemadas and Sumners. In his stories and novels he has shown a steady growth of mastery in handling the vastly complex subject which Russia of today presents. At the same time his style has become free of the involved mannerisms that made him akin to the early Boris Pilnyak. "Soviet River" is limpid and direct, with occasional tortuosities in the pattern, delectable in the original, but often obscure in the English version.

"We are engineers!" might be the motto of the novel. This proud phrase opens the gates of an ancient monastery in the dead of the night to a group of strangers. The engineer is looked upon with awe and respect, and he cannot help being aware of his responsibilities. What Leonov says about the old engineer, Renne, has a general application:

> The engineers had risen and, as though fuddled by the after-effects of a carouse, examined the world that was suffering from shock. All was taking place higgledy-piggledy, as invariably occurs when moving to a new flat. Like an overturned lorry, the Russian machine was puffing away, while little men ran around it, striving to set it once more on its wheels.

Leonov's engineers do not dominate the story. They do not display the heroics of so many "cast-iron" characters in Soviet penny-dreadfuls. They fittingly reflect the time and the place—Russia in transition. The ambitious tasks of these engineers and the tremendous obstacles they encounter in one specific enterprise are easily seen as typical of national undertakings. "We are engineers!" declare the experts, and doors are thrown open to them, millions of rubles are put at their disposal, and thousands of workmen appear on the scene, ready to carry out the transformation of nature and man and life. The engi-

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neers command, but their importance is relative. Leonov employs the right emphasis in outlining the individuals in the story against the background of elemental force and collective action.

The task is, indeed, too stupendous not to overwhelm individual interests and values. The foreign engineer, brought to the spot over impassable roads in an archaic cart, cannot comprehend Russia and its contradictions. He is to assist in changing three hundred acres of backwoods into an industrialized community, with a giant paper factory as its center. The foreigner fails to reconcile this scientific enterprise with the surrounding poverty, squalor, and ignorance. In normal countries life follows the slow processes of evolution. The Soviet leaders are attempting to impose the twentieth century directly on the seventeenth, the laws of evolution notwithstanding. Leonov's engineers and workmen penetrate the hoary regions of Sot River, and hurl the challenge of man-made machinery at the gates of a monastery, at intrenched tradition and bigotry. The problem is not only to destroy and supersede the old, but to reclaim and win over whatever is not moribund.

Rural Sot is still the prevailing Russia. The engineers, the builders of a new life, must face a wall of inertia and superstition. There is no timber, though all around luxurious forests are dying from decay and lack of protection. The villagers dread innovation as something of the devil, whether it be a chicken incubator or a radio in the local club. Though the church is obviously a thing of the past, the monks exert enough influence on the older generation to make them resist the new order. On the numerous feasts of Our Lady the standpatters forgather as of yore, and drink vodka, and swear at the Bolsheviks. Even the younger men are drawn to these celebrations—yes, even the construction workmen. These sprees result in costly negligence and damage when the celebrants resume their work on the morning after. The monks chuckle. They encourage fantastic rumors and attempts at rebellion. The natives complain when the engineers force them to move to new quarters, even though their new cottages are clean and roomy. They are alarmed by the large windows, by the absence of bugs, by the "inexplicable Soviet kindness" in the form of a club, a school, even a hospital. They miss the coziness of the old stench and stuffiness sanctified by their Byzantinish "gods."

The builders of the new are inexorable. In their own camps they meet inefficiency, bureaucratic red tape, doctrinaire pedantry, and other obstacles inevitable when a group of honest but inexperienced men undertake to remake a sixth of the globe and its inhabitants. In the scene when Sot River, in revenge against the newcomers, demolishes one of the dams and menaces the whole construction, one gets an inkling of the new spirit in Russia. The voluntary brigades formed by the workmen make desperate efforts to save *their* enterprise—the emphasis can hardly be understood in capitalistic countries. One comes to realize that with all their faults and failures the Soviet builders—engineers and workmen alike—are engaged in a grand adventure which gives them the sense of mastery, spiritual as well as material, over the machine and nature and life itself.

ALEXANDER KAUN

Notes on Fiction

Rumour at Nightfall. By Graham Greene. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

If it is true that there can be no beauty without strangeness, it is still a nice question precisely where the fulcrum must be placed to achieve the proper aesthetic balance between the two qualities. In "Rumour at Nightfall" Graham Greene has written a passion play in terms of a psychological romance revolving about the enigmatic leader of a rebellion in the Spanish Pyrenees. Mr. Greene's mysticism, however, is so often akin to mystification that it is difficult to say just where the true ends and the false begins; the author depends too much on strangeness to achieve the effect of beauty. Fortunately, his rhetoric is excellent and his novel in part makes up in subtlety of style for what it lacks in wisdom.

Let the Day Perish. By Paul Padover. Jonathan Cape and Robert Ballou. $2.

In this short novel, probably mostly autobiographical, the young author tells of the terrible indignities and persecution suffered by the Polish Jews during the war and the years immediately following. Evidently the cruelties inflicted on them by the invading Cossacks were insignificant compared with those visited upon them after the war by the people for whose country Polish Jews had fought and died. Mr. Padover's talent lacks maturity; his novel is hardly more than a sketch. But it is a remarkably vivid sketch and the events he depicts arouse our horror and pity and indignation that such things should ever be permitted in a supposedly civilized world.

A Street in Moscow. By Ilya Ehrenbourg. Translated by Sonia Volochova. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

The citizens who live in "the" Protochny Street, near the Moscow River, do not argue the principles of Marx and Engels. Kulaks, hunchback fiddlers, broken-down aristocrats, betrayed maidens, misfit journalists, dismissed Latin instructors, hangers-on, "abandoned" children—they are the backwash of the revolution and spend most of their energy keeping alive. Mr. Ehrenbourg's purpose in writing about them is not to tell a story, though he helps himself freely to the devices of narration; his purpose is really to reveal his encyclopedic knowledge of slum life in the U. S. S. R. Like his characters, he is not a Communist himself, though we are told that the Communist chiefs, including Stalin, read him for the sociological information that his work contains. Artistically this book is not interesting, being a mixture of superficial brilliance, sentimentality, hokum, and Grand Guignol horrors. But as a piece of fictional journalism it is exceptionally informative.

Music

The American Composer

THE American composer wants the critic to answer three questions, according to Aaron Copland, who spoke for the composers represented on the programs of the Yaddo Festival, at the "conference for critics and composers." How does my work differ from all other works? How does it relate to what I have done, and to what I am going to do? What is it worth, as music? By answering these questions the critic will, Mr. Copland thinks, best help the composer to an understanding of himself, and the public to an understanding of the composer.

When I look over the list of the twenty odd works performed at Yaddo I find only one work about which I could attempt an answer to the first two questions, and not more than one or two more about which I could essay even the first. Roy Harris's Sonata and Aaron Copland's Variations seemed to me the outstanding music of the three programs; and both are works whose whole significance and direction I completely missed the first time I heard them. In a day when each composer hammers out his own quite individual idiom—changes it, perhaps, even from work to work—I think it is entirely impossible for the average competent listener to form definite opinions

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on any of the three crucial points from a single hearing. I know it is for me. One of the composers present had no hesitation in saying, when he had barely finished his first hearing of Roy Harris's Sonata, that while the beginning and end were brilliant, the slow movement could be cut. Now, although I am far from knowing the work as thoroughly as I should like to, I have heard it six or eight times and am fairly familiar with the score; and I am much surer of the structural soundness of the slow movement than of either of the other two.

It would be very convenient for all concerned if one could listen to a work once, describe it, place it, and appraise it. But to begin the first two processes I need at least two or three hearings; and for appraisal years would not be too much. I have changed my opinion too often of works that I thought I knew intimately; it would be nonsense to attempt to evaluate music whose very idiom is in many cases quite new to me. The few tentative remarks that follow express or imply nothing but impressions subject to later correction.

Certain broad classifications it is, nevertheless, possible to suggest. The Polyphonic Piano Pieces of Vivian Fine, the Serenade for String Quartet of Marc Blitzstein, and the String Quartet of Silvestre Revueltas, all seemed to me definitely below the level of competent writing that Aaron Copland claimed for all the works presented. Mr. Blitzstein's piece, in three Largo movements, was, it seems hardly necessary to state, an affirmation of Larghezza pushed to truly dogmatic lengths, and the continuous use of imitative entries of material that seemed to be introduced, deposited for inspection, and forgotten, did nothing to alleviate its dreariness. In the other two works a little dogmatism would have been welcome; their lack was not in insisting too much upon a point, but in failing to make any.

Jazz, which a few years ago would have been a conspicuous influence on any such program, was represented by only one work, a very entertaining one—the Sonatina for Piano of Mr. Oscar Levant. It was the real thing, as real as Mr. Gershwin and much more competently treated; it was no mere medley, but hung together and developed convincingly. At the same time it retained something of that sweet-and-sour sensualism which is an essential feature of jazz and which was always lacking, for example, in even the jazziest music of Aaron Copland, as Virgil Thomson recently pointed out. Dadaism, too, for which Mr. Thomson could formerly be counted on, was absent, for he has forsaken it. His Stabat Mater, for soprano and string quartet, is a straightforward work of a quiet severity and characteristic excellence of workmanship that made one of the biggest impressions of the festival. George Antheil, who was to have played three 1922 Sonatas and a Sonatina of 1932, could not be present; so the sensational side remained unrepresented.

Two works struck me as having chiefly their slick instrumentation to recommend them—Louis Gruenberg's Four Diversions for String Quartet and Nicolai Berezowsky's Quartet. Each came at the end of its program, and each was brilliantly played by the League of Composers Quartet, both of which facts may partially account for my grouping the works together. Two more—the Two Pieces for Piano of Carlos Chavez and the Five Songs of Paul Frederick Bowles—seemed pleasantly enough contrived but unsubstantial. Defying classification were the Seven Songs of Charles Ives—of startling imagination, vitality, and humor. One of them—"Charley Rutlage—Cowboy Ballad"—stopped the show and had to be repeated. It had, I thought, a recognizably American twang—the only piece, it seemed to me, of a definitely national tinge except Mr. Levant's Jazz Sonatina and the Berezowsky Quartet, whose nationalism was Russian, not American. Two works stood out for the distinction of their workmanship—the Three Songs of Chaucer by Robert Russell Bennett and the Flute Sonata of Walter Piston, the latter brilliantly played by Messrs. Laurent and Sanroma of the Boston Orchestra and enthusiastically received.

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But the meat of the programs was in Roy Harris's Piano Sonata, of which I wrote some months ago in this column, in Aaron Copland's Variations, and doubtless in Roger Sessions's Piano Sonata, which I heard for the first time. The Harris Sonata I like more and more, even though I feel more and more strongly that certain passages limp. But it has a warmth and a generousness of invention that seem to me just what Copland's Variations lack. The Variations do Copland credit as a composer; they are worked out with a skill and conscientiousness that deserve juicier material. That is what one must envy Harris; he is running over with material, and particularly—rare phenomenon—with melodic material. Where he handles it best, and there are many such places in his Sonata, it is moving music, and that I cannot yet say for any of the other things I heard at Yaddo.

But most of them were entirely worth listening to, and the excellent judgment of Aaron Copland in building the programs, the admirable performance of almost everything heard, and the skilful management of the festival made it easy and pleasant to listen. Copland's contributions were not confined to his composition or his choice of the works; he appeared as pianist on every program and did the most brilliant playing of the festival. He is to be credited with one of the most intelligent and effective efforts yet made to advance the appreciation of contemporary American music, an effort which Yaddo promises to continue, doubtless with even increased effectiveness, each year in the future.

ARTHUR MENDEL

Drama

A Palpable Hit

"ANOTHER LANGUAGE" (Booth Theater) has just scored an instantaneous hit. Dispirited by a long series of worse than mediocre plays, the critics of the daily press accorded it a surprised approval to which the public responded with encouraging alacrity. A week after the opening, capacity houses were the rule, and that means something at the very end of a season which has been driving playwrights to despair and managers to bankruptcy. The incident proves once more that there are no bad years for plays which the potential audience really wants to see, and the play itself proves something else very often forgotten—namely, that no theme seems merely "old stuff" if only the characters which set it forth are freshly observed and if only the emotions which it is intended to arouse are freshly felt.

Certainly there is nothing superficially novel in the story which "Another Language" undertakes to tell. The boy who is forced into business when he wants to be an architect is, if anything, even more common on the stage than he is in life. The selfish mother who dominates the lives of her brood of sons even after they have acquired wives and children of their own is another familiar figure; and there is, still further, no longer anything novel in the situation produced when a sensitive adolescent falls in love with the experienced woman who alone understands his callow aspirations. Indeed, it would be easy to say that the present play was compounded by adding a dash of "Main Street" to equal proportions of "Fata Morgana," "Young Woodley," and "The Silver Cord." It would be easy to say that, but it would not be true, for the simple reason that "Another Language"—in some passages at least—is what we critics are accustomed to call in our more perfunctory moments "authentic." And that, of course, is another way of saying that it makes us forget the other plays which it is "like," and moves us afresh.

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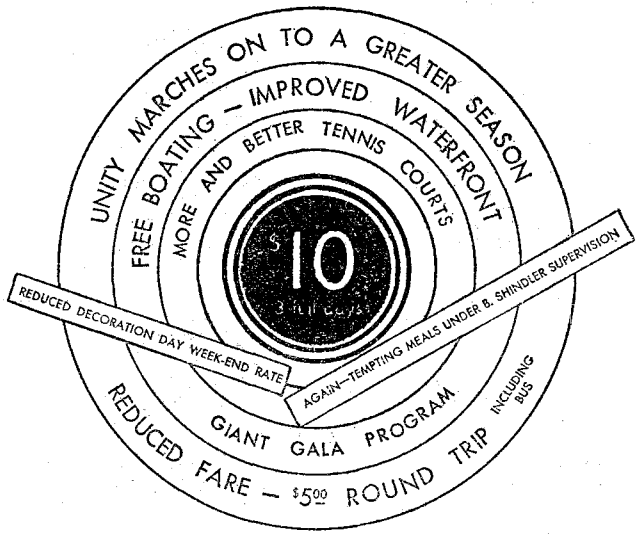
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Naturally I am not prepared to say how familiar the author, Miss Rose Franken, may or may not be with the plays which her own work resembles. Perhaps she knows them well, and perhaps she does not know some of them at all. But one fact is certain: she did not borrow anything from them except, possibly, the bare situation, and she has gone to life itself for her characters and her atmosphere. The middle-class family into which she introduces us is one which she has observed for herself, and, unless I am very much mistaken, some of the remarks which its members make were taken down pretty literally from the lips of the originals. Indeed, I should not be very much surprised if she lost a few friends; in any event, she has given to her minor personages that particularity which contributes to plays like this something of the local interest of accomplished gossip. The stodgy sons, the dominating mother, and the dull, overeating wives are in one sense, of course, representatives of universal types. They belong to every age and to every country. But the sub-variety of their stodginess, the technique of their domination, and the kinds of food they eat too much of are all, like the language they use, unmistakably of the here and now. It is this fact which makes the audience chuckle forth its recognition and which gives to the whole play its distinction.

Frankness, to be sure, compels me to confess that not so much can be said for either of the two principal characters. Neither the aspiring boy nor the sympathetic aunt is very much more than *an* aspiring boy and *a* sympathetic aunt. They are credible, and they will serve, though not very much more can be said for them. But the steady sons and, above all, their variously exasperating wives are straight out of somebody's family album. Nor would it be fair to omit to mention the fact that the actors who play these minor roles contribute quite as much to the amusement of the evening as does Margaret Wycherly, who is restrained and generally excellent as the mother, or Dorothy Stickney and John Beal, who are quite satisfactory as the other two principals. Miss Franken, the author, is a successful writer of short stories who reveals, besides other good qualities, a sound and dependable knowledge of stage technique which enables her to manage the difficult last act with considerable effectiveness of a purely theatrical sort. This is her first play to reach Broadway but I do not think it will be her last.

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